Gatting, hardly better with 19 and a duck. Marsh, on the other hand

BACK HOME British representa-

tion in the European club soccer competitions was reduced to two after the second leg matches in the second rounds. Dundee United and

Glasgow Rangers survive in the UEFA Cup, but Glasgow Celtic and Wrexham were knocked out of

the European Cup and Cupwinners' Cup respectively. Celtic had played bravely in the away leg of their tie at Dynamo Kiev before a 100,000 crowd, but

having achieved equality over the two legs they conceded two goals in the final 18 minutes to lose the

match 3-1 and the tie 4-2 on

aggregate. Wrexham had been hopeful of advancing further after

holding Real Zaragosa to a

goalless match away. But in the

home leg they finished 2-2 after

extra time and Real went through

on the rule that makes away goals

worth double in the event of a tie.

Rangers, meanwhile, went

through by winning 1-0 at

Bonvista for an aggregate of 3-1,

while Dundee United went

through by a similar aggregate in

spite of losing the second leg at

Universitatea Craiova 1-0. In the

third round Rangers have drawn

Borusain Moenchengladbach

while Dundee United meet Hadjuk

But both teams were given a

Premier Division at the

weekend, both losing at home

United were beaten 3-0 by their

city neighbours, Dundee, while

Rangors fell 1-0 to Motherwell.

Celtic, winning 2-1 at Hamilton

Academicals, thus took a two

points lead over Dundee United at

the top of the division with a game

In England the champions,

Liverpool, returned to the head of

## Britain battered and bewildered

Bamford and his assistants, Phil Larder and Les Bettinson, are not to be envied after the Elland Road experience. They must attempt to restore shattered morale and find a side which might give the Australians some sort of challenge in the third and final Whitbread Test at Wigan next week - a game that carries World Cup

urday had made up their minds long before the end, resorting to the refrain familiar to England's soccer players: "What a load of

Peter Sterling, a generous spirit as well as a superlative player, would not accept that. He maintained the British player of 1986 part, that there are youngsters of hour, holding the Australians to a ger since 1981, leading the club to So, eleven weeks ago they disthings after you have just won a game, but I promise you I am not the series set the tourists on their mean an offer of managership for whose career at Somerset began on being condescending or patronising."

difference lies. The set-up in Sydney and Brisbane is geared to produce, in quantity, players of quality able to cope with high

pressure Rugby League. Far too many clubs, coaches. players and administrators here "-are prepared to settle for less thangame is played at its highest level. is trouncings such as Saturday's. It was the Australians' 12th straight victory over Britain since

#### SOCCER RESULTS

Everton 2, Chaises 2; Leicester 1, Newcastle Manchester City 3, Asion Villa 1; Norwich Toltehnham 1; Oxford United 2, Manchester United 0; QPR 1, Uverpool 3; Shaffield Wednesday 3, Southampton 1; Wattord 4, Chartion 1; Wimbledon 0. Luton 1. Leading positions: 1. Liverpool (P 14, Pis 26); 2, Nottingham Forest (P 16, Pis 26); 3,

Arsenal (P 14, Pts 25).

SECOND DIVISION: Birmingham 1, Oldham 3
Bisckburn 0, Streifield United 2; Crystal Palace 0
Grimsby 3; Derby 2, Ipswich 1; Hudderafield 2
Brighton 1; Hull 0, Stoke 4; Millwell 1, Leeds 0 Portsmouth 2, Bradford 1; Reading 0, Barnsley 0; Shrewsbury 1, Plymouth 1; Sunderland 0, West Bronwich 3 Leading positions: 1, Portsmouth (P 14, Pts 29); 2, Oldham (P 14, Pts 28); 3, Leed:

United (P 14 24).
THIRD DIVISION: Blackpool 1, Rotherham (
Botton 0, Newport 1; Bournemouth 2, Carille Bristol Rovers 1, Bury 1; Chester 1, Brentlord 1; Darlington 0, Middlesbrough 1; Fulham 0, Bristol City 3; Mansfield 0, Swindon 0; Notte County 2, Walsall 1; Port Vale 0, Wigan 1; York 1, Chesterfield 1. Friday: Doncaster 2, Gillingham 0, Leading positions; 1, Middlesbrough (P 18, Pis 32); 2, Gillingham (P 15, Pis 31); 3, Bournemouth (P 15,

FOURTH DIVISION: Cambridge 3, Burnley 1, Cardiff 0, Southend 2; Crawe 1, Wrexham 1; Exeter , Peterbrough 1; Hereford 0, Lincoln 0; Northampion 3, Preston 1; Rochdele D, Hartlepool 2; Torquay Wolverhampton 2; Tranmers 1, Swanses Priday: Colchester O. Orient D. Sunday: Aldershot 3, Stockport 1; Scunihorpe 2, Hairlax 1, Leading positions: 1, Northampton (P 16, Pis 41); 2, Swenses (P 16, Pis 31); 3, Southend (P 15, Pts 30). FINE FARE SCOTTISH LEAGUE — PREMIER DIVISION: Abardeen O. St. Mirren O: Civdebank D Hearts 3; Dundee United 0, Dundee 3; Hamilton 1 Cellic 2; Hipernian 1, Falkirk 0; Rangers ( Motherwell 1. Leading positions: 1, Callic (P 16, 27 pts); 2, Dundes United (P 17, Pts 25); 3, Hearts (P 17, Pts 22).

1

FIRST DIVISION: Airdre 3. Montrose 0; Clyde ; Partick 3: Ournbarton 2. Morton 1: East File 2 Duntermline 1: Forter 0, Brechin 1; Kilmarnock 3 Queen of South 2. Leading positions: 1, Dunfarmine (P 19, Pts 26); 2, Dumbarion (P 19, Pts 25); 3,

East File (P 19, Pts 22). SECOND DIVISION: Arbroath 4, Queon's Park Ayr 3, Raith 3; Cowdenbeath 1, Alfoa0; Johnstone 3, East Stirling 0; Stenhousemuk Albion 0; Stirling 2, Berwick 2; Strenraer Meadowbank 0. Leading positions: 1, Alloa (P 14, Pts 21); 2, Raith (P 14, Pts 21); 3, Meadowbank (P 14, Pts 18).

Bradford 1978, and in the second half the divide looked as wide as it had ever done during that period.

The brilliance of this touring

Arthurson, president of the Australian RL, places them above the receive wholehearted endorsement but, if they are not as good, then there is precious little in it.

Australia's dominance stemmed

way as Fox's ill-conceived pass The Australian scrum-half was fell to ground. Australia won the scrum and seconds later Cleal was touch down.

The British defence was left when O'Connor sprinted clear, kicked ahead, picked up and

The gaps widened, Britain's resolve began to drain away, and Lewis, Jack (twice) and Kenny scythed through the home defences. The only blemish on Has there ever been a more

Gill (Wigan): Myler (Widnes), (Edwards, Wigan, 58 minutes). Fox (Featherstone Rovers), Ward (Castisford), Watkinson (Hull KR), (Platt, St. Helens, 20 minutes), Fieldhouse (St. Helens), Crooks (Hull), Potter (Wigan), Goodway (Wigan). AUSTRALIA: Jack, O'Connor, Kenny, Miles, Shearer; Lewis, Sterling (Lemb 79 minutes), Dowling, Simmons, Durin, Cleal, Niebling (Menings, 78 minutes), Lindings.

## No relief for United's woes Alan Dunn's DIARY

most famous players, West Indians Viv Richards and Joel Garner and England's leading all-rounder Ian

trast to last year, when they won 18 and drew two of their opening

the trauma of changing managers. Ron Atkinson, an engaging expenalty from O'Connor lanother 14 win the FA Cup in 1983 and 1985 points for him; after three min- and never finishing lower than ing already pinned future hopes i utes. But then one of Britain's fourth in the Division One. For the signing of a New Zealand Test many embarrassing mistakes in some clubs that would almost life. United have different ambi- the same day as Richards's, was struck an unprepared Ward and tions, based on a highly costly operation and consistently the highest attendances in British socpicking his way for Lindner to cer. This season those gates, often have been alipping, down to 36,000 naked again five minutes later for their last home league match and 10,000 fewer for their home tie against Southampton in the Littlewoods Cup. The return leg at Southampton last week saw

fate was sealed. Two days later Atkinson and his deputy were dismissed and Alex Australia's performance was a Ferguson, manager of Aberdeen, blunder between Jack and O'Con- the Scottish Premier Division club. nor just before the end which and his assistant had been named allowed Schofield to touch down. to take over. Atkinson had two years of his £60,000 a year contract to go while Aberdeen were believed to be receiving about £150,000 compensation from United for the loss of Ferguson. There will also be additional payment for the two assistants. Ferguson is believed to have signed a four year contract worth £400,000. In the search for a crowd-pulling and award-winning team United

TWO English sporting establish- have never shied away from cost. \_choice as Test opener, had only 15 ments were put through the wring- Nor have they refused to pay and a duck, and the captain highly for playing talent. During Atkinson's reign they have spent £7.4 million on players and have

Oxford had their biggest gate o the season, 13,545, and Ferguson was left to ponder a future that United's problems have been includes a clutch of leading players mounting all season, in total con-nursing injuries.

bowlers, and Botham, for some the most entertaining all rounder in the English game, Somerset have had a couple of lean years. Time, player, Martin Crowe. Botham, horrified and said that if the decision was not reversed he would not play again for the county. At the weekend a lengthy and often around 50,000 in the good days, acrimonious campaign to overthrow the decision ended in failure. By 1,828 votes to 796 a special general meeting of the club backed the management and Botham announced from Australia, where he is touring with the United lose 4-1 - and Atkinson's English squad, that he would not play again for the county. He advised the club captain, Peter Roebuck, not to proceed with his plan to fly out to Australia for

> WHEN Somerset's decision was being taken. Botham was taking part in a reaguard action by the English team to try to avoid defeat in their last major match before the first Test against Australia in Brisbane. England's batting problems were compounded in the match at Perth against Western Australia where Gower was twice out for a duck, Slack, the original

"straight talk" with Botham.

RUGBY UNION: David Frost in Toulouse: France 7, New Zealand 19

## All Blacks' dour warning for World Cup

victory over France in Toulouse on from Shelford picking up the ball vigour and commitment to the cause, but its lack of invention and creativity was a solemn warning to those who hope to witness fluent running rugby from the top teams

in next year's World Cup. The All Blacks recently learned a bitter lesson when the Wallabies, forsaking their free-running style, played 10-man rugby and won their third Test in New Zealand, and with it the series. On Saturday the All Blacks showed that they had been digesting the lesson ever

They attacked mainly with tight moves involving their loose forwards and scrum half or with high

punts from standoff. It was largely a forward battle fought out in a dour and sour atmosphere on a dry and warm afternoon. It was trench warfare in

a jet age. The only try the All

Saturday was a demonstration of at the back of a scrum and goal from close to the centre spot. plunging through.

The French forwards battled bravely, and Sella scored a handsome try when the forwards peeled ing to win plenty of lineout posses- penalty goals by Crowley. sion through their anticipated Duboka from the scrum half posi-

at the back of the line for French One beautiful cut-through by Benneval and the occasional audacious exploit by Blanco served to show what might have been. Blanco, however, was far from infallible, a horribly miskicked clearance by him giving Crowley

NEW ZEALAND'S hard-fought Blacks managed to score came the opportunity to open the scoring for the All Blacks with a dropper Stone also dropped a goal, after stooping to retrieve a poor pass.

A long penalty goal by Berot left the All Blacks leading 6-3 at the round the back of a lineout and the interval. Sella's try put the French backs exploited the broken field. ahead at 7-6 but the All Blacks The French clearly pinned most of ground their way remorselessly their faith in such moves, expect- back with Shelford's try and three

Blanco was not the only player advantage in height at the back of who made unwanted mistakes. the line. French thrusts - begun by The All Blacks coach, Brian Lochore, reckoned afterwards the tion, were frustrated by the All New Zealanders had thrown away Blacks' stationing one of their locks three tries.

FRANCE: S. Blanco (Blarritz); P. Berot (Agen), P. Sella (Agen), E. Benneval (Toulouse), M. Andrieu (TNimes); J. P. Lescarboura (Dax) (sub F. Meanel, Flacing), P. Berbizier (Agen); J. P. Gareul (Lourdes), D. Dubroca (Agen, capt) P. Chabowski (Bourgoin), A Lorieux (Alx), A. Condom (Blarritz), E. Champ (Toulon), A. Carminati (Beziera), (sub D. Erbani, Agen), L. Rodriguez (Montiarrand).

ALL BLACKS: K. Crowley; K. Kirwan, J. Starley, A. Stone, C. Green; F. Bolica, D. Kirk; S. MoDowell, S. Fitznetick, J. Drake, G. Minetter, M. Clones,

the First Division thanks to a fine 3-1 win on the plastic surface at

Queen's Park Rangers, a surface they are known to dislike. Liverlead the division on goals from Nottingham Forest, who were beaten 1-0 at Coven try City, who are having one of their better seasons.

WORLD RUGBY UNION leaders have called on the chairman of the South African Rugby Board, Danie Craven, to halt plans for reb tours there next season that coul lead to a major split in the game Dr Craven has admitted know ledge of the attempts being made in South Africa to bring over teams from Britain and Australia

BOXING'S Herol Graham moved nearer to a world title fight last week when he retained his European middleweight title by forcing Mark Kaylor to retire with a cut eye in the eighth round of their fight at Wembley, London.

JOHN McENROE was more like his old playing self, without the on-court petulance, in winning the £145,000 first prize of the European Community Champion ship lawn tennis title in Antwerp at the weekend by 6-3, 1-6, 7-6, 5-7.

6-2 against Czechoslovakia Miloslav Mecir.

Vol. 135 No. 21 Week ending November 23, 1986

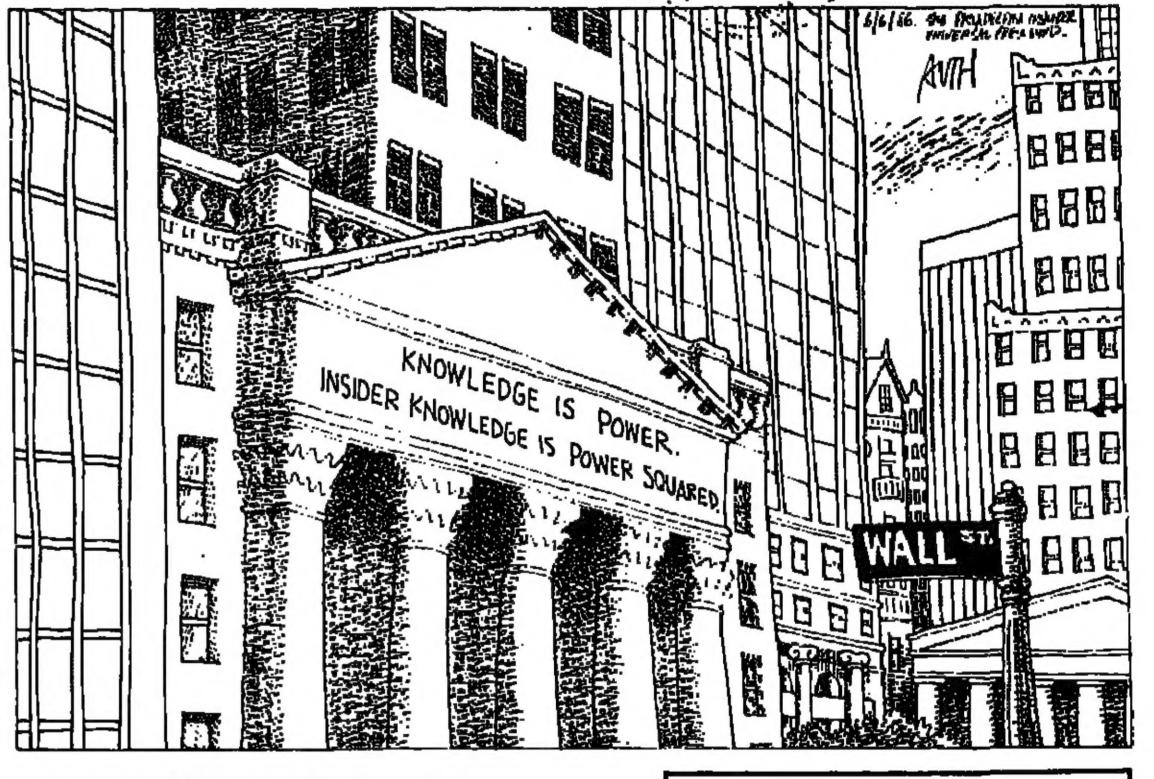
## Market hit by insider dealing scandals

By Mark Milner and Alex Brummer in Washington

BRITISH Opposition MPs this week demanded tough measures to combat financial fraud in the City as revelations about insider dealing hit London share prices and brought takeover activity on Wall Street to a virtual halt. In Washington the Securities and Exchange Commission moved swiftly to widen its investigations into the affairs of Mr Ivan Boesky to include at least 10 investment houses, law firms, and investors.

And in London, the corporate affairs minister, Mr Michael Howard, forecast an increase in criminal prosecutions for insider dealings as he responded to emergency questions raised after the resignation of Mr Geoffrey Collier as a director of Morgan Grenfell Securities, part of the merchant banking group. Inspectors from the Department of Trade and Industry are investigating allegations of insider dealing by Mr Collier, who resigned last week after admitting to breaching the firm's rules on personal share dealing (James Lewis, page 3).

Mr Boesky, the Wall Street wheeler-dealer, was caught by the SEC, which has the kind of wide statutory powers, which the Labour Party believes should control the city. At the weekend Mr Boesky was fined \$100 million, banned from share dealing for life, and may now face a prison sentence for his part in insider trading scandals. He had 300 phone buttons on his desk and a huge network of contacts. He is still worth an estimated \$200 million. He has played a key role in corporate raiding and mege-morgers for more than 10 years and his trading companies have assets of over \$2 billion. (Profile, p8, Comment, p10).



## The pressures on the President

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S television broad- again. "We know, no matter what is said in Americans of the wisdom of sending arms to Iran - 72 per cent disapproved of it if it were intended to improve relations, 79 if it were intended to help to free American hostages. Terry Waite, the Anglican church envoy who has negotiated the release of hostages in Lebanon, said on Monday the rumour and speculation about arms shipments had done immense harm to his efforts. Many of his contacts in Lebanon had now gone to ground and might not surface

IT IS ALL a question, really, of how you feel

about official lies and official hypocrisy. If

you expect elderly statesmen - like the

President of the United States - to tell an

approximation to the truth, to abide by the

laws of his land, and not to ask his allies to

follow a difficult path that he, himself,

covertly eschews, then you may be outraged

and sickened by Ronald Reagan's Iranian

imbroglio. If, on the other hand, you expect

the President of the United States to tell

international fibs under pressure, and to

behave in the most contorted ways - and

The Washington Post

line to Tehran.

COMMENT

the press, that neither Iran nor Syria nor other nations have direct influence over the actons of the hostage-takers . . . You can't identify in the release of hostages any one

Mr Reagan said on Monday that he had

"absolutely no plans" to send more weapons and "I'm not firing anyone," an apparent defence of his Chief-of-Staff, Mr Donald Regan, and his National Security Adviser, Admiral John Poindexter, who have both received heavy criticism for their roles in

Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, would resign. In a television interview on Sunday he made plain his opposition to White House policy. Where Mr Reagan had said "There has been no evidence of Iranian government complicity in acts of terrorism against the United States," Mr Shultz said "Iran has and continues to pursue a policy of terrorism". A senior White House official said: "We were miffed that Shultz could not have been more supportive."

Reports, pages 7, 15

there is infinite cynicism to the word expect - then outrage and nausea can be much Let us try the cynicism-stained path of diminished expectations first, for Mr Reagan has some solid mitigation to plead.

He has hostages still buried away in Beirut, human lives at stake. It is perfectly honourable to set high personal stall by their release. These are human issues great potential pain and seriousness. But you're also leader of a country whose interests, in the real world, aren't perhaps

best served by the public facade of chill enmity towards supposedly pariah states like Iran. You have an interest in the future of the Gulf after the ancient Ayatollah dies. You have an interest in planting a few hooks for the future. You may even have a (human) interest in trying to call a premature halt to the horrendous bloodshed of the Iran-Iraq war. So windows opportunity with Iranian leadership factions open over time. Mr McFarlane. Admiral Poindexter, and Colonel North -

Making It Worse citizens. It would not have been the worst

IMAGINE President Reagan saying: I felt a profound obligation to the hostages. For this thing he could do. reason, I reluctantly released to Iran militarily insignificant amounts of defensive arms, though this cut across both my pledge not to nogotiate with terrorists and the American interest in containing Iranian fundamentalism. Something did come out of it - the release of three hostages, Iranian cooperation in a few other hostage affairs. Crazily enough, something more may you come out of it. That is why, despite the embarrassment, I am trying to keep open a

Had Mr. Reagan said something along these lines in his television address last week, he might have preserved a measure of credibility concerning this bizarre affair and also a measure of understanding. For few Americans are not susceptible to an appeal in the name of the safety of their fellow

He presented un incomplete and implausible version of events in which he conceded not the slightest inconsistency. misjudgment or lapse of execution and loft far more questions hanging than he put to rest. He came forward not as a resolute president with an honorable purpose prepared to take his knocks, but as a whistlingin-the-dark chief executive who set himself

The president should have been alert to opportunities for conciliation with Iran, but he should also have recognized the roughness of the political terrain and not put a vision of a diplomatic breakthrough over his responsibility to keep the confidence of Arab

and the country up for manipulation and

humiliation and who still cannot see where

not have left the painful impression of What the president did, however, came conducting a policy out of the hearing even should not have accepted the mind-boggling suggestion, which, it seems, did not come from the Iranians, that there was a requirement to establish his good faith, by sending arms. For it is the arms transfers, even if they were only in the limited amounts so far acknowledged, that are the most unconscionable feature of this affair.

> Perhaps some unforeseen benefit will come along and transform it. Until that happens, it stands as a monument — and not the first - to the perils of closet policymaking. Mr. Reagan let a good human instinct be clouded by bad political judgment. The result so far has been a multidimensional policy disaster that is made worse by his obstinate refusal to grant

## It's not Shultz who should go

CONSIDER the crumpled George Shultz. He is the Secretary of State—at least, he was on Tuesday. The vicar of American foreign policy. But no-one really told him for Caspar Weinberger, or even the Joint Chiefs of Staff) about Iran. The glum word Mr Shultz uses in public is "fragmentary' knowledge. Does he approve of what has happened? No. Would he go on fishing with arms in troubled Gulf waters? No. Can he (lethal question) speak for the Reagan administration? "No."

The spectacle of a traduced and miserable Secretary of State is, of course, pothing new Remember how NSC overlord Henry Kissinger disposed of Mr William Rogers neglecting to cut him in on the grand rapprochment with China? Remember the resigning Cyrus Vance; or even the fulminating Alexander Haig? The tension be tween State and the National Security Council is systemic (and endemic). American foreign policy is not made by binding Cabinet decision. It emerges from deliberately designed warfare between feudal barons. The war of the President's ear.

But even by the rules of that war, the affair of the Iranian overtures is pretty jolting. George Shultz wasn't merely kept in the dark. He was wheeled around the world to berate European states for softness on terrorism; and, plaintively, to tell the Arab League that America was not (repeat not) helping Iran against Iraq. His President didn't just let him down; he condoned the destruction of much of Mr Shultz's credibil ity. So now the Secretary is very unhappy, He may, or may not, resign. But the wonder of the American way is why anyone should point a resigning finger at Mr Shultz. It was the NSC who organised the bungled opening to Tehran. It is Admiral Poindexter who admits a "miscalculation". If anyone should fall from grace and public life in this crisis it should be the miscalculating Admiral That, on one level, would be simple justice. But in the long and futile history of conflict between the State Department and the National Security Council, it would also be highly salutory, for once, to see the shadowy man at the NSC carrying the can.

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## Don't 'sneer' at SDI

Edward Teller once observed tem at present in prospect . . . " is that SDI opponents mount three just that - an assertion. Whether main criticisms of the program: or not the marginal cost of defend-1) It won't work and will waste a ... ing against additional missiles

lot of money. 2) It will work all too well and will force the USSR into desper- whether system hardware and ate adventures. 3) Both of the above.

Puttick (November 2) seem to be search required before an effective firm supporters of Option 3.

There are several points which these gentlemen have not addressed in their letters. First, there seems to be little question that the individual components of the SDI could "work" - that is. could destroy enemy missiles in flight. Professor Puttick's assertion that "the Soviet Union could easily swamp any defensive sys-

exceeds the cost of the additional missiles and countermeasures and software can be made sufficiently reliable are legitimate questions to reduction in superpower strategic E. P. Thompson and Keith be resolved by the extensive re- arsenals is understandable, but it strategic defence system can be would have more than symbolic

be an effective SDI system allies and perhaps everyone else.

## Tears for fears

serious French journalist (Andre in terms of "threat" and "risk". He Fontaine, "No tears at the Elysee does not specify why it should be a over Reykjavik failure", Nov. 2) delusion for a small European concluding that the process of country to attempt to change its nuclear disarmament is long over- Nato contribution from a nuclear due; but his strictures of course are to a conventional one. only for the US and the Soviet

presumably criticism, that the ons is because the spotlight would present French and British Governments both wish to update their present deterrents to make them credible. Yet, later, the prospect of a British Labour Party now fallen victim to the delusion of unilatoral nuclear disarma-

Better read than red

The Education Minister, these the role-models 15-year-olds Kenneth Baker, suggests that children should "read and understand Animal Farm by the age of 12". What can he be thinking of?

While it is true that even an cabinet minister, should be includintelligent eight-year-old could read the words of Animal Farm, could a 12-year-old understand that Snowball is really Trotsky? But perhaps Mr Baker is thinking of introducing compulsory courses in Marxist-Leninism.

Similarly, David Copperfield would seem to enshrine the pet hates of his Cabinet colleagues. The early part of the story deals with the misfortunes of a single parent; unmarried cohabitees squatting in an upturned boat; and a young hero who rejects a YTS course in the wine business, provided by kind Mr Murdstone. Are weaken seams on US ambassador's

November 23, 1986

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Advertisement enquiries to the Advertisement Manager, The Guardian Weekly, 1 Famingdon Road, London, England.

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Secondly, the fact that the Soviet Union is orchestrating a frenzied public campaign against "Star vast overkill capacities possessed Wars" while pursuing the elaborate research program described by David Whitehouse is very disquieting. If the Soviet Union sides with enough warheads to comes to possess what it believes to

It is encouraging to find a ment" coming to power, is talked of

Surely the reason for French agitation over a possible reversal He states without comment, or of British policy on nuclear weapthen be turned on a France following perhaps her own delusion of an independent nuclear deterrent?

Doreen Marsden. Lower Neadon Cottage.

ed on every English syllabus.

should be imitating?

John Purkis.

Highworth Avenue,

But perhaps John Mortimer's Paradise Postponed, with its clear You refer (October 10) to the SDI advice on how to become a Tory as "unworkable", and a "pipe dream". Why then, are the Soviets so anxious to stop it? Tom Oleson,

unmatched by the West, the actual

capabilities of such a system will

be of little significance. The effects

on Soviet behaviour could be dan-

Thirdly, the attraction to

50 per cent or even a 90 per cent

is hard to see how such a reduction

value in the absence of strategic

defence. Disarmament lobbyists

never tire of reminding us of the

by the USA and USSR. Huge

percentage reductions in strategic

weapons would still leave both

destroy each other along with their

Finally, SDI opponents seem

determined to portray pro-SDI sci-

entists and laymen either as igno-

rant boobs who cannot see the

obvious impossibility of strategic

defence or as cynical careerists

who find it a cornucopia of high-

paying jobs and research grants. If

Messrs. Thompson and Puttick

were asked whether they classify

themselves as Soviet dupes or as

conscious Soviet agents of influ-

ence, they would be justifiably

bility of honest disagreement over

complex issue would be more

fitting than an air of sneering

moral superiority, but few obser-

vers expect this sort of civility

from the "peace" movement.

Dhahran, Saudi Arabia.

Robert M. Kelley,

outraged. Recognition of the possi-

gerous and far-reaching.

Via Italo Piccagli,

## Men who mean business

I have top secret information trousers before important public from the Kremlin and the White House regarding their activities for the next few weeks: -call in Soviet ambassador to issue

1. CIA to hide Russian ambassador's spare tyre and then let his tyres down whilst out of town. 2. In reprisal, KGB to seriously

dor's chair and ties his shoelaces shoe polish on all US embassy toilet seats. THE GUARDIAN WEEKLY 5. In reprisal, CIA to deposit banana skins on Russian ambassa-

dor's doorstep, ring bell and run away, etc. etc. All these tactics are designed to show the allies firmness of resolve and that "we really mean business" with regard to the arms limitation talks.

complaint, but meanwhile CIA

office boy climbs under ambassa-

Lord help you. Dr. Alan Hargreave, Casilla 3048

Santa Cruz, Bolivia.

## No-frills living for the clergy

Re: Rev. Hill-Tout's "Wages of part-time job; isolated clergy in the wealthy theocrats. Quite the oppu Virtue" letter (September 28); Fascinating to hear a complaint about a pay rise from anyone these days. Such rectitude! As an Anglican priest in Canada, at the lowest pay scale, I get about the same stipend (C\$15,050), a house, car allowance and interest-free car loan, dental and group insurance, pension plan, and tenure that a professor might envy. Sounds OK, ..

Yet there are problems, Moonlighting is common; few clergy families get by without a spouse's

north subsidise (beyond tithing) site, since so many well-off Angli their parishes dut of their own cans give so poorly or not at all pockets. As for "credibility and integrity amongst the poor", the pay and benefits package is at

No doubt some of the truly poor would gladly trade their status for such a plain but adequate living. reverently agree that the church ought not to attract those seeking sinecure rather than a true vocation, but among parsimonious parishes and dioceses we are not in danger of creating a new class of

the church they call theirs.

Do they like to keep their clerky poor, as "designated Christians so that they can suffer through them viceriously? The guilt-driver non-attender often pays in big t have the rites of passage attend to, but fails to find the lasting ment. We treat our clergy like we (Rev) Kim Salot various

Swan River, Manitoba. mental to a Property big per

## THE GUARDIAN, November 23, 1986 Shades of a phoney

taking this scourge.

Messrs. Thompson and Puttick of a After four years of inaction, the total NHS budget, this is precisely 0.04 per cent: a ridiculous amount for what people throughout the West see as the biggest threat to health this century.

few years to some £180 million to

ture of some £50 million to £100 towards giving undue weight to million over next year would be the prejudiced version of events needed to secure maximum cost- normally put out by a small benefit, and to give the following country which has been attacked

education programme for everyone, not just those in the high-risk categories. A programme of hardhitting TV commercials is needed; overmoralistic caution will simply be counter-productive.

#### Hero from the Spanish war

At least one notable exception 8. In reprisal, George Shultz to comes to mind in the face of Jane Walker's blanket assertion that not a single volunteer who fought in the Spanish Civil War became an officer in the American forces in the second world war (October 26). commissioned a captain in the matters of passion. field for the role he played in leading his detachment in cutting off the Japanese at Buna and for holding open a critical corridor for reinforcements in spite of repeated counter-attacks. I have the impression that he was a major before he And if you believe that, may the was killed at a later stage in the

> Holman Jenkins. Swarthmore, Pa.

# war on Aids

The Government's initiative on to use it. Sexually transmitted Aids, while welcome, is too little, disease clinics are ideally suited to too late. Without any costings retain confidentiality, providing attached, it is still unclear how free walk-in services which do not seriously the Government is require referral and guarantes

(Lab, Oldham W).

I learn from the BBC news that

Mr. Norman Tebbit has publicly

castigated the BBC for having

been influenced, in its one-side

reporting of the Libyan bombing

last April, by 'Libyan propagan.

It is proper that Mr. Tebbit

should thus identify a notorious

bias often shown by the BBC

by a large one. One has only to

was misled by Czech propagand

in 1939 and in 1968, despite the

reasoned explanations for the Ger-

man and Russian attacks respec-

tively put out by Berlin and

This latest lapse is particularly

regrettable after it seemed, from

the BBC's reporting of the

Falklands and Grenada conflicts,

May I pre-empt Conservative

Central Office and suggest that to

counter the "red" triangle a small

bust of Mr Norman Tebbit be

affixed to the top left hand corner

Moscow at the time.

P. G. Haig,

Glenmore Street.

Wellington, NZ.

Special emphasis needs urgently DHSS finally allocated a paltry to be given to a campaign aimed at £1.89 million, then topped this up students and school-leavers to enwith a trifling £6.3 million last sure that everyone in this age December. As a proportion of the range is made fully aware of the This requires a substantial ir vestment in these services. Michael Meacher, MP.

There are now estimated to be some 40,000 positive carriers in Britain today; that number is expected to rise exponentially to about one million by 1990, with perhaps 18,000 Aids victims by that date, a 70-fold increase in just four years. Since health economists in Britain believe that the care of each Aids patient, including all related public expenditure, costs £10,000 to £20,000, the total could well rise sharply in the next

I would estimate that expendi-

An explicit and persisting health recall the way in which the BBC

Since contraceptive sheaths are probably the best protection against transmission of the virus. they should be made freely available from doctors and clinics. Since infected needles are another major source of transmission, free needles and syringes should be made

Screening should be widely and freely available for those who wish

#### of our acreens during programmes requiring appropriate discretion. Chris Saville, London SW17.

We can never accuse the Tory 4. In reprisal, KGB to put black and that was Herman Bottcher: claims to be the citadel of Victor one of the second world war's few ian morality, and indeed it is. The authentic beroes. As a sergeant impeccable exterior remains, as with the 32nd Division, he was does the clumsy handling The dutiful wife, the loyal chill

dren still link hands to protect th Victorian facade. Long live Victor ian moralityl Tory gentlement please do not move one inch from well. Awfully unromantic for the wife, of course, but frightfully Victorian.

Jan Marjoribanks

## THE WEEK IN BRITAIN PM's appeal to 'popular capitalism'

THE QUEEN'S speech, the tradi- The party leader, Mr Neil geared up for a general election tional opening to a new parliamen- Kinnock, said that two million was heightened by figures showing programme that cannot be quietly dropped if the urge to go to the country - possibly next summer --- becomes irresistible.

The main item on the agenda serious crime and enable the attorney general to appeal against what seem to be lenient sentences. The only other controversial proposal is a Bill to replace the rating system in Scotland with a poll tax. England is promised - or threatened with — a similar reform only if the Conservatives win a general elec-

The remainder of the programme consists of minor - and mostly predictable - measures. Local councils will be required to privatise more services. The legal disadvantages of illegitimacy will be removed. Safety measures at sports grounds will strengthened. The promised Channel tunnel will be given parliamentary sanction.

Such an agenda will allow the Government to convey an impression of competent inactivity and to concentrate on what Mrs Thatcher sees as the main election issues: the virtues of "popular capitalism" and the weakness of Labour's unilateralist defence policy which, she said, would produce a "fearful, fellow-travelling Britain.

trate on the economy and poverty.

## 42 killed by 'carelessness

THE driver of the coach which ran into a traffic queue on the M6 in Lancashire last year, killing 13 people and injuring 42, was acquitted this week of causing death by reckless driving.

But John Bonnyman, aged 63, of Edinburgh, was found guilty of driving without due care and attention at Preston Crown Court. He was fined £200 and disqualified from driving for three years.

The jury convicted him by a 10-2 majority after deliberating for almost 31/2 hours. The judge, Mr Justice Macpherson, ordered costs to be paid from central funds. The accident happened near

roadworks at Barton, north of Preston, on October 21 last year. Mr Bonnyman, a driver for 30 vears with a clean record, taking an Eastern Scottish coach from Edinburgh to London when he ran into stationary traffic.

FOREIGN

EXCHANGES				
	Sterling Rates November 17	Previous Closing Rates		
lustralia	2.2175-2.2250 20 24-20 27	2 2083-2.2123 20.22-20.25		
lustria Jelgium	59.69-59.80	59.67-59.80		
anada Janmark	1.9778-1.9806 10.84-10.85	1.9763-1.9798 10 83-10.85		
rance Sermany	9,41-9,42 2 873-2.878	9,37-9,40 2,862-2,667		
long Kong	11 124-11.125	11.12-11.13		

Italy
Japan
Netherland
Norway
Portugal
Spain
Sweden
Switzerland
USA
EGU 1,987-1,983 1.881-1.987 232,48-232,86 230,77-231,23 2.246-3.248 3,232-3,238 10.71-10.72 10.87-10.71 211.77-212.64 211,70-212.84 193.28-193.58 192,78-193,12 9.80-9.92 2.38-2.39 2.373-2.378 1.4280-1.4290 1,4290-1,4300 1.3787-1.3805 1.3763-1.3780 FT 30 Bhare Index 1278-5 Gold \$391-125

tary year, was seen less as a people were condemned to a "jum- a fall of nearly 76,000 in unemlegislative programme than as the ble-sale Christmas" this year. A country in which so many were campaign for a third term of office. sorely and helplessly poor was a There is nothing in Mrs Thatcher's country divided, lacking in basic justice, and not at peace with

The voters in the Merseyside election, and reduces the dole constituency of Knowsley North, one of the poorest in the country. did not offer Mr Kinnock much more than 17,000 three years ago.

Labour, for its part, will concen-

The decline of 8.2 per cent in its share of the vote was its biggest

fall in any byelection of this parliament. The Tory share fell by a staggering 13.8 per cent. The victory, if not the seat, went to the Liberals, whose share rose by nearly 20 per cent.

"Would you like to come up

for a commercial on Aids?"

Given the special circumstances of Knowsley — a local Labour Party at odds with itself, and an electorate with particularly strong reasons for hating the Tories there were no particularly valid lessons to be drawn from the result except, perhaps, that the Liberal-SDP Alliance continues to perform better in real elections than it does in the opinion polls.

The aura of an economy being

Prison officers may sue over 'riot incitement' claims By Andrew Moncur and Alan Travis THE Prison Officers Association of the POA, said: "We have talked

short-term job-creation pro-

sands more have been excluded by

campaign to alert the public to the risks of Aids was approved at the

the diseaso. Some 23 million leaf-

in the country, backed by nows-

paper advertisements, a poster

campaign and public service ad-

The trouble for the Government

television ban on condom advertis-

many voters as an encouragement

Two Government-appointed in-

spectors, armed with new legal

powers, began an interrogation of

Mr Geoffrey Cultier, the disgraced

former head of securities at the

In the City's first scandal since the

vertising on television.

have to be taken later.

incited outbreaks of rioting and The POA challenged the authors Trust, to hand over any evidence to

the police for investigation. The report details the accounts of six unnamed prisoners in four of the gaols where rioting, in April, coincided with an overtime ban imposed by prison officers in their dispute over manning levels.

In one case, at Northeye low security prison near Lewes, Sussex - which was wrecked by fire - an inmate reportedly was told that an officer said: "There's only four of us havoc in the camp.

Another prisoner, at Wymott

said it may sue for libel over a to our lawyers about the possibilreport alleging that a few officers ity of redress. They have looked at particular areas where they feel arson in Britain's worst eruption of that a small group of staff are identified and it may be possible to Mr Stephen Shew, the director

of the trust, said that Home Office industrial relations tactics had relied upon brinkmanship, "upon

rogue prison officers took up that challenge and condoned and incited the worst-ever series of prison riots in our history." Inmates at Peterhead gaol in

Aberdeen will be able to make complaints implying criminal conon tonight so you can cause a bit of duct by prison staff by writing MICHAEL CROFT, director of the letters in sealed envelopes to the National Youth Theatre for 30 police or procurator fiscal, it was years, has died at the age of 64. Mr announced in the Commons. There Croft, a schoolteacher, was one of Lancashire, claimed that officers is to be an inquiry into prisoners' the most influential and underhad made remarks like "Do a good grievances about conditions and rewarded talents in British job tonight, lada" and "Do us treatment -- which started last theatre. He ran the National week after a siege in which a Youth Theatre single handed Mr John Bartell, the chairman prison officers was held hostage.

ployment, a spurt in manufactursharp rise in incomes. The fall in Channon, took the precaution of since May, 1983, which was the ers which could land Mr Collier in queue to 3.2 million. The statistics.

more than half a million people are ment, designed to bring about London and Dublin governments, Belfast, during which police fired plastic bullets at an attacking

twelve months ago. New-style Protestant paramilitary groups have emerged on to the streets of Northern Ireland. The accord has, destroy it, though the pace of reform has been painfully slow. youring stronger action against Supporters of the pact have been Aids, would probably frown on particularly aggrieved that the measures suggested by the medical single-judge Diplock courts for profession such as the free issue of dealing with terrorist cases have condoms and of injection needles not been replaced by the promised

for drug-users. A lifting of the three-judge system. Lack of progress may well be due ing would also be regarded by to the fact that the Irish Republic will soon face an election which of promiscuity. The leaflet cam- the present Prime Minister. Dr paign is therefore probably de- Garret FitzGerald, could lose. signed to condition public opinion could equally well be true that the for sterner measures that may strength of Unionist opposition has diminished Mrs Thatcher's early enthusiasm for the agreement.

so-called "Big Bang" two weeks CROWN Prince Abdullah of Saudi ago, Mr Collier resigned from the Arabia, who allegedly left his bank after admitting breaking its country during the visit of the own house rules on personal share Prince and Princess of Wales for dealing, though he denied using health reasons, is enjoying the inside information, gained at the company of a group of 'lady bank, to make a swift profit on entertainers" in a five-star hotel shares he knew were about to rise. on the Canary Islands.

Until two weeks ago the Stock His place as host in Saudi Exchange had its own regulations Arabia was taken by King Fahd to prevent "insider" dealing. Since who installed the royal couple in the Big Bang, however, the banks his brand-new guest house, the all aspects of the dispute. Even have been left to regulate them- Nakheel palace (palace of the palm

The prince has taken a block of 40 rooms, including the luxury royal suite, in the Santa Catalina hotel on the outskirts of Las Palmas. A hotel spokesman said that his booking, made on Thursday by the Saudi royal household, has come as a complete surprise. Since Crown Prince Abdullah is

the government's link-man with Syria and has a Syrian wife, there was speculation in Riyadh that his Buckingham Palace officials initially expected him to be replaced by another prince in the line of auccession, but King Fahd's decision to step in personally saved the

"It's a rather impressive gesture East department, said. 'It's an Arab tradition of hospitality which was not anticipated but which is very welcome."

#### Michael Croft

the face of every kind of crisis.

## Cool response to offer by Argentina

ARGENTINA this week said that

But President Alfonsin's condimissed by Mrs Thatcher as an attempt by Argentina to entrap Britain into negotiations about the

The Argentine offer came a part of a proposal to engage in "open dialogue" as a preliminar to substantive negotiations with Britain. The British Government is now studying the proposal The new proposal was an

nounced in Buenos Aires. It coin cides with President Alfonsin's visit to Washington, and comes week before the annual Falklands debate in the UN General Assem

Britain has justified the protecsure, but is widely interpreted as a deliberate move to maintain the political gulf between Britain and Argenting on the Folklands. Last week, the US joined other

members of the Organisation o American States in a resolution censuring the British move to control the fisheries around the

By Hella Pick and Jeremy Morgan in Buenos Aires

Falklands as an aggravation of the sovereignty issue. (See page 5.) The Prime Minister, speaking in Washington after her meeting with President Reagan, again declared: "We do not discuss the sovereignty of the Falklands; we will not discuss it; and we do not recognise that there is a problem about the sovereignty of the

The new proposal says that Argenting would be willing to end the state of hostilities with Britain in exchange for "global negotiations" on the Falklands dispute.

Argentina was willing "to begin overall negotiations with the UK under the terms of existing UN resolutions, which call for talks on though there is no mention of sovereignty in the UN resolution Britain has always rejected the formulation on the grounds that the resolution implies a British willingness to negotiate the Falklands' statue.

Now, Argentina is proposing a preliminary period for "previous and preparatory steps" during which there should be "an open dialogue" with Britain, "to create the conditions of trust necessary to successfully face the negotiations and set a timetable for them."

Talks and later negotiations were aimed at "resolving all the problems that exist between both parties, as well as the sovereignty dispute". Argentina's proposal mentions trade, consular and diplomatic relations, transport and by the King," Mr Stephen Day, communications, and the conserva-head of the Foreign Office Middle tion and preservation of fishing resources in the region. Until now, the Alfonsin Govern-

ment had followed the principle of its military predecessors, that the June, 1982, surrender of Argentine troops in the Falklands meant that a battle was lost, but not the war The government had always argued that it was not obliged to declare an end to hostilities be cause the war was never declared in the first place.

Mrs Thatcher, however, is unlikely to be impressed by such gestures unless they are accompanied by a firm commitment to set aside the sovereignty issue.

# -

London well satisfied that her that warmth to it, and an inforweekend dash to Camp David had mality to it." successfully brought President down to earth again, and secured his endorsement for a set of armscontrol priorities more realistically tailored to European anxieties and her own election timetable.

In effect, she has extracted from her senior ally a promise that he campaign for nuclear disarmament at the Iceland summit which threatened to undermine the Government's defence posture in an election year and put the British Trident missile purchase in doubt. As with the December, 1984,

Camp David agreement on defining the purpose of Star Wars research, the Prime Minister may well have pulled the Nato fat out of a fire started by an Administration overfond of playing with matches.

"Nuclear weapons cannot be dealt with in isolation, given the need for stable overall balance at all times," the two leaders agreed in a statement hammered out from

nuclear balance of terror without first ensuring that Western Europe is not left facing Soviet superiority in convenitonal weap-

The agreement is to be conveyed to Mr Gorbachev - in response to Britain's ambassador to Moscow, Sir Brian Cartledge.

After a helicopter ride from Washington on Saturday morning. Mrs Thatcher was greeted with a the Tory benches - though Mrs kiss by Mr Reagan, and driven off to a lodge in an electric golf cart that she had never shared such over which he appeared to have only erratic control. Despite the ominous symbolism of this start, a ton's conservative Nato allies, senior US official later declared; "These are two leaders who consult often and deeply, who share ideas, superpowers in Reykjavik, Mrs

After a whirlwind round of talks cials, and with the President himself, at his official retreat in the Maryland hills, the Prime Minister appeared at the British embassy bearing a "small statement" which contained most of what she latest manifestation of the Ron and Maggie special relationship — which left them chatting alone for

almost an hour on Saturday. The modest price Mrs Thatcher seemed happy to pay was that she managed to refrain from any hint of criticism of her friend - most conspicuously over the Iran arms

Having discussed the issue with both Vice-President George Bush

> **By Michael White** in Washington

over breakfast and with the President himself, the Prime Minister stoically refused to detect any differences between them. "I be-It explicitly confirmed that no lieve implicitly in the President's drastic cuts will be made in the total integrity on that subject," she snow at Camp David seem to have cators and sociologists use is

In return, Mrs Thatcher got the President's commitment to press ahead with the US Trident programme and "confirm his full aupport for the arrangements made to modernise Britain's indehis own message of last week - by pendent nuclear deterrent" by purchasing the US system.

Doubts that the US might "do a Skybolt" and cancel a system, as it Thatcher characteristically stated

More important for Washingalarmed by sweeping talk of immi-

Thatcher drew Mr Reagan away | EARLIER this month (November privately call "the visionary stuff" and "utopian talk" - some of in particular, and Europe's in which the US has tabled in - by identifying three | the United States, concluding, "for priorities for arms control

The first is Medium-range or more foreign land." Indeed. INF agreement for "zero-zero" deployment in Europe only if there is | my first anniversary as an expatriagreement to restrain short-range missiles, which, Mrs Thatcher said living in London have had much again, "are stationed in such positions that they can fall on England

over five years in the US and Soviet strategic offensive arsenals French systems and none of the commitment which both superpowers pay lip-service to of eliminattogether with cruise and bomber systems in the disputed Soviet version after Reykjavík.

The third is a ban on chemical effective verification would be an

The Trident deal was reaffirmed without difficulty. Where officials | tating facts but incapable of ration both sides who braved the light ocination. The term American eduhad to work hardest was in the statement's longest paragraph, which eventually gave British participants considerable satisfaction | can graduate they automatically and underlined the impression given by the Prime Minister herself that an arms-control deal is not just round the corner.

It read: "We confirmed that Nato's strategy of forward defence and flexible response would contindid in 1960, should now recede on ue to require effective nuclear deterrence, based on a mix of systems. At the same time, reductions in nuclear .weapons would increase the importance of eliminating conventional disparities. with in isolation, given the need nent nuclear disarmament by the for stable overall balance at all

OBITUARY

## Siobhan McKenna

CND in £88 million hole

Hertford district council, deep in come up with the money.

house all the town's 22,000 people. grounds of Hertford Castle.

THE Conservative-controlled £88 million. All it has to do now

commuter belt, has granted out- 266 metres deep, complete with

line planning permission for an lifts, underground water supply underground nuclear shelter to and three-tier bunk beds, is in the

Hertford and Ware Campaign for given without discussion. The

Nuclear Disarmament in an at- council leader, Mr John Sartin,

SIOBHAN McKENNA, who has died at the age of 63, was one of the great Irish actresses. Her Saint Joan, which I saw at the St Martin's Theatre in 1955, and which won her the first ever Evening Standard Best Actress Award, was the most moving have ever seen: a beaming, roundfaced girl who had the defiant certainty of a born saint and whose cry of "God is alone" had, as Tynan attested at the time, "tears flowing everywhere in the house."

Miss McKenna was born in Belfast, educated at the National University of Ireland, and made her professional debut in Galway in 1940 in Tons Of Money. In Galway she gave her first Saint Joan in Gaelic. later moving to the

In 1947 she made her London Shakespeare season in Stratford. debut at the Embassy Theatre, She was at home in many cities

the comfortable Home Counties

The plans were put forward by

tempt to embarrass the council.



Siobhan McKenna

The proposed site for the haven,

Permission to go ahead was

By Michael Billington

and cultures, the French theatre being one of her earliest passions. But, for the London playgoer, she is always associated with the Irish classics to which she brought a scrubbed, shining simplicity and a up along the ringroads surround- good quote line and there is an voice that carried its own lilting | ing the Sunbelt cities whose exis- outstanding visual effect at the

Mermaid in 1973 on the death of | chises.

Gaelic. But she will be remembered above all for her acting, her west James Forsyth's Heloise in the capacity to make grief palpable, West End, and in 1952 did a and to let her soul show when move are primarily white, work- lions of dollars to buy air time.

#### By Alleen Ballantyne

million into building a hole in the ground? It's lunatic."

not granted permission, CND vironment Secretary at vast cost to the ratepayer.

It is understood that under normal circumstances, the scheme said that there was no possibility would have been rejected because The local CND branch estimated of the shelter being built. "Can you it did not meet the sewage requirethat the 64-tier shelter would cost imagine somebody putting 288 ments.

from what some British officials 9) a Guardian leader expressed a al age (concepts they can't grasp bafflement at its (the Guardian's True and False). With the life ther general) inability to understand grew up expecting to live no longer possible, they try to set down root good or ill, it is becoming a much in windswept desert soil and fail.

Why America is

so foreign

They come home from work and put on the TV and see a relentless stream of Evangelists offering simple ideas about how to feel better and about salvation, ideas that d reduce to true and false. The evangelists invite them to become part of a community (and please send \$10 to my ministry). And

Or they switch on the news and hear a President presenting simple messages night after night, often very close to the message the evangelist is presenting. Communism is evil. Sandinistas are bad Russians lie. Having been educated in the American way, slogans they can understand, ideas they

The structure of network news in which complex issues are boiled down to information nuggets with good pictures abets this sloganizing. Which brings us to the third

The oligarchical control of the media — you have the three networks, whose differences are gauged not by editorial or institutional commitments but by the oncamera persona of their news

#### By Michael Goldfarb

assume that there is a shared presenters. heritage of knowledge. Wrong. American education is, by and difference is that their bills are large, memorizing facts.

I am an American coming up to

ate and in the year I have been

time to think about the US and

would like to explain this new

The changes the Guardian notes

and are caused by a confluence of

the standards of education after

the second world war; the dramatic

shift of population under 40 from

country to the south and south-

west; and the oligarchical control

From elementary school through

a first degree at university, the US

educational system does not pro-

duce, by European standards, liter-

ate people. It produces people

capable of ingesting and regurgi-

When a European, or a Guard-

ian leader writer, meets an Ameri-

of the media.

functional illiteracy.

three things: a hideous decline

After 15 years of this sort of business of television is tailored t schooling any concept that cannot suit their needs and the needs be reduced to true, false or sometimes (as the questions appear on cies. It is impossible to imagine the standardized college entrance one of the networks saying, look tests) is not admitted as knowledge the President is giving the same

On the population shift, particu- carefully stage managed public larly of people under 40: Europeans come to the US to visit the Great Metropolises of the East and West Coast or rough and windy ing their advertisers, who, given Chicago. They see on the streets the rates the networks charge for recognizable faces and shapes of lives and assume that US life is corporations, often mult like their own.

most of the country lives.

Visitors don't go out to the unctions of the interstate highways, to the communities sprung the road, the President gets off tence is owed to the coming of the rally and night after night the six-lane blacktop. Sitting out there President's men get the equivalent for tragedy. She played Juno in are great, sprawling developments of a free party political broadcast O'Casey's June And The Paycock of mock-Tudor, mock-Spanish in the guise of a news report. in Dublin and London, taking over | houses with a neon strip of shopdirection of a production of the ping malls and fast food fran-

These sprawling places which Her contribution to Irish theatre | have sprung up in the last 20 years over the past half century was are inhabited primarily by refu- in spite of the evidence of people? immense, and extended to direc- | gees from the mill towns of the tion and translation of plays in | rust belt and the small farming ity. communities of the upper mid-

> The people who were forced to Springsteen, they traditionally have had no cultural voice. One of the reasons East Coast intellectuals, the main interpreters of American culture to Europeans, consistently misunderstand what's going on in America is they have un-European when compared to the densely packed mill towns.

So there is this block of the body politic, wrenched from their roots, and home soil, not by bombs, but by distant international political events and the painful reality of intelligence to nominate him.

The reason that there is no paid by their advertisers and the speech over and over again in

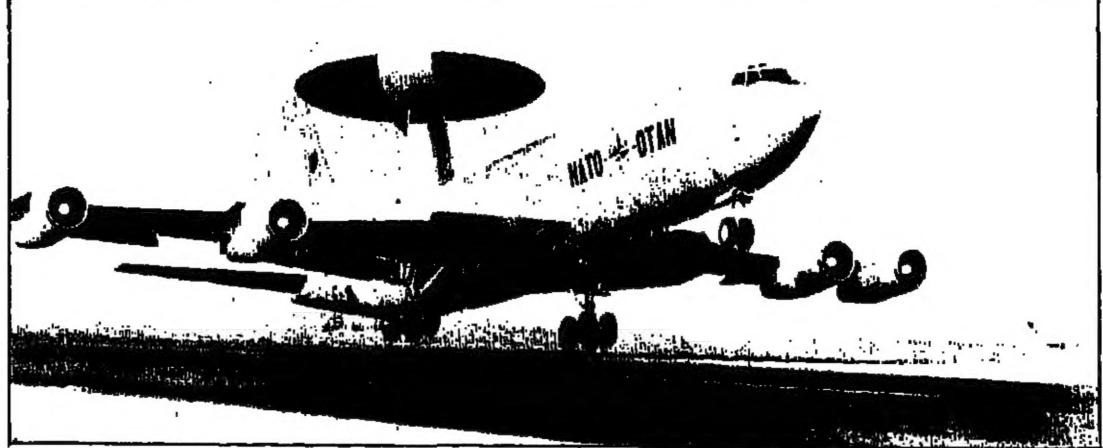
A network couldn't risk offendad time, tend to be very large nationals, whose chief executives Forget it. That isn't the way tend to be of the same philosophic stripe as the President.

The White House media staff are aware of this. So the circus goos on

where connection to the larger world is through the TV set, the President's message seen daily

why political candidates pay

through the tube. The Reagan machine, with its



An Awacs aircraft leaving RAF Waddington near Lincoln on a suies drive last week.

## US Falklands line annoys Britain

ter up at the weekend talks with at Camp David.

But officials insisted that the US

resolution against Britain. United States gave Britain logistical support as well as help with intelligence-gathering, even Britain has complained that Arthough this risked compromising genting, in signing fisheries agree-

#### By Hella Pick

the islands' sovereignty.

Even so, it is hardly welcome in agreements. and potential conflict, introduced its trawlers are unlikely to apply by the declaration of October 19" for fishing licences from Britain. the already delicate situation."

around the Falklands, arguing Falklands.

The US, even if it supported Mrs fisheries licences.

BRITAIN is deeply disappointed Thatcher during the Falklands Alex Brummer in Washington by the Reagan administration's war, has long felt that Britain is adds: The Reagan Administration decision to join the other members too inflexible on the sovereignty has signalled that it will continue of the Organisation of American issue, and that the Government to tilt towards Argentina in the States in censuring the Govern- should be more ready to negotiate tisheries dispute. The White House ment's unilateral imposition of a with Argentina, now that it has a disclosed that President 150-mile fishing zone around the democratically elected govern- had telephoned the Argentine Falkland Islands. Mrs Thatcher is ment. The government's decision loader, Mr Raul Alfonsin, on Nothought to have brought the mat- to impose the fishing zone, and its vember 3, to express US concern warning of military action against about the establishment of the President Reagan in Washington unlicensed trawlers inside the area fishing limit. American officials is said to have angered Washing- said the status of the Falklands could not have acted differently in The Administration has not two presidents met in Washington

the context of the OAS meeting, been impressed with the flood of last week. and that Mr George Shultz had explanations from Whitehall, justi- American officials said the situsought to water down the OAS fring the move almost entirely in ation in Argentina now was entireterms of the urgent necessity of ly different from that in 1982. During the Falklands war the conserving the area's fisheries re- during the Falklands war, when Argentina was run by an insensi-

In justification of its action tive military dictator. its relations with Latin American ments with the Soviet Union and

governments. But since 1982 the Bulgaria, deliberately set out to US has voted in support of UN provoke Britain by encouraging resolutions, calling for a negotiat- these two countries to lish near the ed solution to the rival claims for Falklands, and writing Argentina's sovereignty claums tuto both

London that Mr Shultz, the US But the British case has won Secretary of State, has now voted very little sympathy. Spain, with in support of an OAS resolution its close links to Argentina, was that expresses "strong concern among the first to condemn the over the new element of tension. British move, and has warned that (Britain's declaration of the fishing The Soviet Union has criticised

zone) and which urges Britain as the British move but has not said well as Argentina "not to take what it intends to do about its actions that introduce changes in future fishing around the Falklands. The Foreign Secretary, Sir. The Americans are said to have Geoffrey Howe, is said to be been forthright in expressing their optimistic that the Russians will displeasure with the government's avoid any situation that risks a imposition of the fishing zone clash with the Royal Navy in the

that this was unnecessarily pro- The new fishing season begins in vocative and further complicated February. But well in advance of any attempt to secure a negotiated this. Britain's ability to assert its settlement between Britain and role over the fisheries zone will be Argentina on the sovereignty is- tested by the extent that trawlers from other countries apply for

By Jeremy Morgan in Buenos Aires

military capacity in the South war bied un in dock at the pavy's Atlantic took another step forward base at Puerto Belgrano, 700 miles last week when President Raul south of Buenos Aires. But it was Alfonsin launched a modern mis- hurriedly reconditioned after the sile frigate and formally handed war and an extension of its landing over another to the navy. Both ships are armed with M-38

Exocet sea-to-sea missiles made in Etendard, the French-made air-France and assembled in Argenting and the vessels are reported to age with Exocot attacks on have a top speed of 27 knots. The 1,700-ton ships, built at Argentina's naval shipyards to a design by Blochm and Voss of West Germany, are the last two of a series of six missile frigates destined for the navv.

Defence observers here com-"useful complement" to Argenti-

The aircraft carrier spent all but 1983.

\_ARGENTINA'S efforts to boost its the initial stages of the Falklands deck means that since 1983 it has been suitable for use with craft that inflicted so much dam-

Britain's Falklands task force. However, the future of the navy's surface fleet remains in doubt, With the admirals' interest focused on a submarine programme, it is thought that some of the frigates could be sold to raise

mented the frigate fleet would be a President Alfonsin's Government insists that there have been na's only aircraft carrier, the 25 de no new warships or weapons purchases since it took office in late

## Boeing promises jobs

By David Fairhall

IF the RAF finally decides to buy the American Boeing Awacs radar aircraft instead of the British Aerospace-GEC Nimrod the US company has promised that it will placing contracts with British in-

ry King, said that its "best and Awacs numbers are equivalent to final offer", submitted to the a Nimrod fleet of 10 or eight Ministry of Defence, has increased the promised offset from 100 to 130 per cent of the contract value within eight years. Mr King would not disclose the absolute value, but generate about 8,000 jobs, many of capability in this area.

them in hi-tech area. At the MoD's request Booing has quoted separate prices for a fleet of eight or six E-3 Awacs aircraft purchased on their own or i for the French Air Force - the larger combined total would slight Boeing's vice-president, Mr Jer- ly reduce the unit cost. The RAI

The high initial price of the Awacs is one of Boeing's disadvantages in competing with Nimrod he estimated that the offset pro- the other being the Government's gramme in its peak year would concern about losing a British

#### Oman exercise

FOR the first time since the Fulklands campaign a substantial British tri-service force will be exercising later this month outside its familiar Nato area. The aim is to demonstrate that Britain still of brigade size over several thousand miles, with pir and naval support, either to fulfil a residual military commitment or go to the The setting for the exercise,

codenamed Saif Sarees (Swift Sword), is the Arab sultanate of The premise of the war game is that Oman has appealed for Brit-



ish military assistance ugainst an unspecified "external threat" Some 5.000 men will take par with ships, four Tornado bombers and two air defence Tornados.

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He said that if the council had not bothered to explore these would have appealed to the En- these communities are distinctly

The power of television can't be minimised. There is a good reason

So there it is. You have population under 40 who can absorb data but can't think, living isolated from their roots in sprawling ex-urbs of hideous samenes seeking a sense of community, not in each other but by what they get

staff culled from Los Angeles. agencies and market research firms, understands all this and have found the perfect cypher t which to write their message. Democrats have someone as media effective, Mario Cuomo. It remain to be seen if they have the

president of the employers

organisation, CNPF, paid tribute to a self-made man and asked why

such blind violence was directed

against industrialists who had

Mr Besse, who had established

never taken part in politics.

THE GUARDIAN, November 23, 1986

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S folksy

attempt to explain away his flip-flop on America's policy towards

dealing with Iran's state-sponsored

gressional criticism or ease the

The President's 15-minute tele-

deep-seated concerns of Ameri-

vised speech, delivered at break-

neck speed during prime-time

the political and foreign policy establishment as riddled with eva-

sions and half-truths. There were

also some clear signs that Americans — having endured a 444-day

trauma with Iran in 1979-80 - are

not yet psychologically prepared to trust Ayatollah Khomeini's regime

or tolerate weapons systems deliv-

was from the newspapers.

Reagan fails to

quell unease

By Alex Brummer in Washington

was dealing with the right people formed of perhaps the most impor-in the revolutionary regime. The tant policy reversal of his Admini-

Kept in the dark

By Michael White in Washington

NOT only did Mr Reagan instruct CIA director William Casey to

keep Congress in the dark about the Iranian deal (see page 15)

but the chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff, Admiral

Crowe, was also kept in the dark - the first he knew about it

Since Admiral Crowe is only just recovering from the shock of

President Roagan's willingness in Roykjavik to contemplate

giving up all strategic weapons (also without consultation) he

was reported last week to have asked all his top staff officers if

they knew: they did not. The irony is underlined by the curious

fact that Admiral Poindexter is still a serving officer, as is

Lieutenant-Colonel Oliver North, of the NSC staff, who is said to

THE mysterious White House aide director of the National Security

off jitters about another US cake- network of military officers and

walk in Iran, has been a key figure civilian operatives whom he met in in most of America's recent covert who Vietnam War (where he won

reported to have played a leading around," according to a colleague).

Grenada, the mining of Nicara- shadowy General John Singlaub.

guan harbours, the aerial intercep- whose private fund-raising for the

tion of Arab terrorists after the Nicaraguan contras is believed to

Achillo Lauro hijack and the il- have been directed by North,

White House trade of arms for North's propensity for mission

hostages renews questions about impossible earned him the nick-

national security adviser, government needs the kind of

North's emergence in the secret contact with the rebels.

and a cake, is also a Marine officer suited to that job."

Lt Col Oliver North, whose disap-

role in planning the invasion of

and the man responsible for

North, who is officially deputy

legal direction of contra forces.

have accompanied Mr MacFarlane (also a marine colonel, but

retired) on his abortive mission to Tehran.

In the hours after Mr Reagan's

acknowledge, was offensive.

pushing the truth to the limit.

that 18 months ago the President

and a small cotorie of officials.

many of whom have never been

confirmed by the Senate, rewrote

the executive orders covering deal-

ings with Iran. This secretly lifted

the Carter arms emburgo. Members of his Administration, elected

representatives on Capitol Hill

and Americans were never in-

DO BELIEVE YOU'RE GETTING IT -

NOW HOLD THAT AND REPEAT AFTER ME,



THE mutilated body of the top Filipino leftwing labour leader, Rolando Olalia, was discovered in Manila.

Government leaders expressed shock over the torture and killing of Mr Claifs, and leftist leaders called for massive protests. Leftist leaders accused the Mr Olella was killed a day after announcing that leftist groups would raily behind President Aquino if disgruntied military officers attempted to selze

KIM IL SUNG, President of North Korea, welcomed a visiting Mongolish delega-tion in Pyongyang on Tuesday, giving the ile to reports that he had been assassirumour several times previously, nece to abedingtion that he is juvojved in difficulty in getting his son, Kim Jong ii, nominated to succeed him.

ISRAEL'S Foreign Minister, Mr Persa, said he had cleared up "a misunderstanding" with Britain after explaining in a telephone call to Mrs Thatcher that ierael had not abducted the nuclear technician, Mr Mordechai Vanunu, from

Mr Vanunu had revealed secrets of ieraei's nuclear weapons programme in articles in the Sunday Times.

ISRAELI aircraft attacked a Palestinian Sidon in south Labanon, injuring five The air reld came a day after a Jewish

sominary student was killed in Jerusalem by Areb querrilles. The next day laraell helicopters at tacked another Palestinian base in the

POLICE with dogs charged striking black workers at General Motors' car plant in the company's plan to "disinvest" from South Africa and sell the business to local management. Black workers downed tools, protesting that they had not been consulted. Since then 567 of called in when attercations arupted between strikers and new workers brought in to take their jobs.

TWO cabinet miniaters in the former Lesotho Government of Chief Leabus Jonathan were abducted by armed men at the weekend, driven into the mountains, and shot dead, according to a

Mr Desmond Sixishe, the Minister Chief Jonathan, and Mr Vincent Makhale. the Foreign Minieter, were visiting friend with their wives when they and their hoate were kidnapped at gunpoint, taken into the Maiuti mountains, and

CHILE'S Socialist leader, Jorge Molina, confirmed that he, Pedro Corres, for the conservative National Party, and Eugenio Ortega, for the Christian Democrats mettwo military chiefs separately to give them copies of the Bases to Suatain a Democratic Regime, an 87-point political pact algued in September by 13 parties ranging from right to moderate Marxist

411 Wall

23

The meetings with the police chief General Rodolfo Stange, and the navy's commander-in-chief, Admiral Jose Toriblo Merino, were the first formal contacts between the armed forces commanders and the opposition in 13 years of military

PAKISTAN'S President, General Zie, has claimed that India is massing troops on the border with his country. india denied any aggressive intent, saying movements related to training

in india at least ten people have been killed by Sikh terrorists in Hindu reprisals in the Punjab leading to riots and

## THE WEEK Renault boss shot dead

THE French terrorist group, Acrushed to the scene. Mr Chirac tion Directe, is suspected of killing said that he was "horrifled by the Mr Georges Besse, chairman of the bestial murder" of Besse. "Nothing state-owned Renault car company, as he returned to his Paris home on Monday night.

Mr Besse, aged 58, was walking the short distance from his chauffeur-driven car to his first floor flat in Montparnasse when he was hit in the head and chest by several bullets and fell bleeding heavily to the pavement. By the time his amily rushed to his side, he was already dead. Neighbours said was apparently carried out by a man and a woman on a motorcycle.

man and a woman on a motorcycle. Faction, is usually thought respon-The Prime Minister, Mr Jacques sible for such drastic terrorist Chirac, flanked by Mr Robert attacks as the murder of General Pandraud, Minister for Security, Rene Audran in January, 1985,

can justify or explain such a gesture. Such an act demands that all be done to find and punish the

In a message from Africa, where he is on tour, President Francois Mitterrand said: "The death of this circumstances, is a great loss for his family, for Renault, and for

The international wing of Action Directe, which is linked with West Germany's notorious Red Army

## Outsider on the inside

IVAN BOESKY, the Wall Street wheeler-dealer who was fined a him a latterday Great Gataby — record \$100 million for insider "the self-made Mid-westerner trading at the weekend, had an edge: he slept only two hours a Coast financial establishment, night. While rivals snored, he played international tunes on his prodigious fortune brings him

once commented on this restless-

Although he likened his body to doesn't stop running," this induced throttle confusion. "I am not proud about it," he said. "I have often thought it would be nice to sleep a long time." He may get his wish: his guilty plea to one criminal count could earn him up to five years in the slammer.

Boesky, aged 49, is the son of a Detroit delicatessen owner who emigrated from Russia in 1912. His book Merger Mania, published last year, was dedicated to his father's memory with the words returning to the community the benefits he had received through the exercise of God-given talents.'

What Boesky, one of America's richest men, did not reveal was that his own talents did multiply by the algebraic ju-ju detailed in such chapters as "The Saturday Night Special" and "Tender Offers", but by insider trading and a huge network of contacts unavailable to punters corporate raiding and mega-merg-

The Wall Street Journal called struggling to fit in with the East whose compulsion to accumulate a

He left Detroit in 1966, with wrestling skills, a lawyer's qualifi-cations, and rejection slips from several big Detroit firms. He cast "a Mercedes on the autobahn that buying his way into the exclusive Harvard Club in New York and becoming a trustee of New York

He rose politically through the lobby, crowned by his invitation to the White House with Jewish leaders to discuss missile sales to Saudi Arabia.

But insecurity fuelled a greed which one arbritrager has described as beyond the wildest imaginings of mere mortals. Once, strolling down the Champs Elyees, "It's a beautiful evening, just look good is the moon if you can't buy or sell it?" But doubts intruded. "It's a sickness I have, in the face of which I am helpless," he said.

His staff, whom he was wont to observe on his deskaide bank of TV monitors, found his behaviour vacgentility. The paradoxes sometimes displayed. It rend: "He who owns the most when he dies

and an unsuccessful attempt the life of a vice president of the such an act. Mr Yvon Gatter

national employers organisation,

Mr Guy Brana this April. Police investigating the shooting thought it might have been timed as a warning to the authorities before the forthcoming trial of an Action Directe leader accused murdering two policemen here in

The government, shaken by the wave of Middle Eastern terror attacks which reached their peak in September, now seems to face a cians, industrialists and trade indignantly to the murder of a to £50 million this year. Rensult respected national figure.

his reputation in the nuclear i dustry and as head of the metals group, Pechiney, took over Renaul in January, 1985, after the com pany had emerged from an expansionist period with heavy losses.

These amounted to £1.3 bills 1985, and were expected to fall it was hoped, would be in the black The trade union, FGMM-CFDT, by late next year.

for air force intelligence in Damas

Western diplomats in the Syrian

shortly before the end of the

Hindawi trial and Britain's dra-

matic decision to sever relations -

that President Assad now knew

who was responsible for the open-

ation and would deal with him

Israeli intelligence is now con

vinced that Assad himself, who is

when the time was ripe.

## Israelis knew of El Al plot

ISRAELI intelligence received an intelligence. Lieutenant Colonel advance general warning, from an Mufid Akour, who is now reported Arab source, of a plot to blow up an to be in detention in Damascus on Israeli civilian airliner earlier this suspicion of being an Israeli spy. year. It was this heightened state of alertness that led to the discovtioned by Hindawi as one of the ery of the bomb that Nezar officers involved in the mission. Hindawi's girlfriend was carrying as she tried to board an El Al flight at Heathrow airport last recruitment and foreign operations

Inconsistencies and gaps in cus. Hindawi's evidence, and the highly favourable results for Israel, led capital were told privately b many observers to argue that government officials last month-Israel's Mossad secret service was somehow involved in the affair. In the extreme version, the whole operation was somehow masterminded by Mossad. Another theory was that Israel had got wind of the plot and allowed it to run its course - almost until the end in order to reap maximum political

But new information from Jerusalem and Damascus this week suggests a far less conspiratorial — but no less intriguing — explanation for how the plot was foiled. Had the bomb gone off, it would almost certainly have led to a new Middle East war, initiated by Israel in revenge for Syrian involvement in the operation.

Intelligence sources now say that early this year Israel received general warning, from an unspecified Arab source, of a plot to blow up an El Al plane.

whether the information from an officer in Syrian air force

By Ian Black in Jerusalem

The sources refuse to say

renowned for his caution and Iranian President, Mr Ali stration. circumspection in the face of 8 Khamenei, said that the US may militarily superior enemy, did not know about the El Al operation and that it was the result of a power struggle between one or Reagan "agreed there was no proof more of the half-dozen Syrian that Iran had anything to do with security and intelligence organior supported terrorism," he added. For many critics, the most damaging aspect of Mr Reagan's ap-It remains unclear, however

whether Colonel Akour is under proach was his attempt to obscure auspicion us the man who initiate the truth and shift the blame for the London operation withou what is being described here as clearance from above, or whether America's most serious foreign he warned the Israelis that the policy blunder in 25 years from should be on their guard in genera his own hearth to that of others. about a plot to plant a bomb on an easy target -- which was responsible for the "rumours" and the "utterly false" charges that the US

US's duplications policy of critito European allies for dealing with certain to be high on the agenda

when congressional hearings open.

Iran's support now is at variance Last spring, Mr Reagan battled it ent rationale: he argued that advanced missiles including hand-

Saudi Arabia because of the threat

Council's political-military affairs

branch, is said to have relied on a

the Silver Star and two injury

One of these contacts was the

circumventing a ban on official

tollah be a strategic threat on the one hand to the Islamic Gulf ransom payment for hostages." oilfields and of strategic impor-This was a dangerous alip into tance to the US on the other hand?

#### address several of his key points have been disputed. The President's statement that only small amounts of defensive weapons were shipped is seen as wrong on two counts: some of the American material shipped, officials now Similarly, Mr Reagan's suggestion that he had taken the proper steps in informing Congress and had broken no laws is also seen as What actually happened was

Similarly, how could Ayatollah Khomeini be described publicly by the President on July 8, 1985, as a "now international version of Murder Incorporated" while the US arranged shipments of weapons systems both indirectly and directly to commit those "murders"?
The embattled National Security

Adviser, Admiral John Poindexter whose job seems in serious danger was explaining last week that was all a big mistake and Iran wa not after all a terrorist state. If that is the case why had the US set up Operations Stannel

procisely to stop the flow of weap ons to Iran, and ordered the customs service, FBI and foreign governments to do the same beause Tehran was on its terrorist Much of this "spin" - aimed at

leaving the White House smelling of roses - does not appear to have impressed Congress or Americans in the same way as the post Reykjavik blitz. The scenes of fanatical students

and bearded Avatollahs abusing flag and effigies of its leaders on the streets has left an indelible impression on the American psyche. Even the great communicator, In strategic terms. Mr Reagan's who rose into office promising analysis of why the US is seeking "swift and effective retribution" for with what the Administration has his way out of trouble this time. A fair measure of Mr Reagan's

trouble came from Senator Barry Goldwater, the retiring chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, in whose 1964 presidescribed the sale of military equipment to Iran as a "dreadfu mistake, probably one of the most major mistakes the US has eve

## Another fine mess, Ollie

Texan, he is said to be driven by a consuming hatred of communism. Two years ago he turned down an unrepeatable offer of a marine command, perhaps content that his White House position allowed him to pull rank on senior officers in privilege which caused deep re-

The price has been high. Last year his family moved into a military base after his dog was poisoned, his home picketed and a stream of threatening phone calls protested at his exposed contra links. Ho was also named as a target by the Abu Musa faction.

the resignation last year of his name Knight Rider. An associate boss, Robert McFarlane, as says: "Whether you like it or not a Described as an action officer who reads the President's mind, North once participated in an operation called Educating Ronald McFarlane, who has since popped people who get on a plane and fly up in Iran with a bizarre spying into a Central American jungle, no Reagan. This required "exposing kit that included an Irish passport questions asked. Ollie's perfectly the president to the realities of nuclear conflict." Just how he Critics are wondering how many more fine messes Ollie will get he had access to, is not known. America into. A buttoned-down



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## Ciba-Geigy accused of polluting Rhine By Sara Lenz in Basie

SWITZERLAND'S largest chemical company, Ciba-Geigy, has been spilling high concentrations of than a year, according to the environmental organisation,

confiscated all Ciba's records on production of the herbicide. Atrazine, to investigate whether pollution regulations. Clba refused

kill weeds. It halts the photosyn- to the bed of the Rhine following thesis of river plants for more than the fire at the Sandoz factory in dangerous quantities of Atrazine cause another environmental dimust have penetrated the food chain all along the Rhine and Basle in the next few days, accordentered the North Sea.

coordinator, Mr Stefan Weber, found an Atrazine concentration of more than 1.5 grammes per cubic at the Sandoz headquarters that a metre in the water purification flood or heavy rain would stir up plants of Ciba's Schweizerhalle the Rhine bed and prompt a establish exactly what the Swiss factory on October 27, 12 days "recurrence of the chemical pollu- and, more specifically, Sandoz dentally spilling 400 litres of the jor waterway. into the Rhine from

Ciba admitted the leak only

after West German scientists found unusually high concentrations of Atrazine in the river. Mr Weber started his investigations after the University of Karlsruhe The authorities in Basle have in West Germany published data Atrazine traces of the same high concentration were found near the gust and October last year.

Atrazine is used by farmers to agricultural chemicals that sank a year. Greenpeace claims that Basle could wash downstream and

Dr Hurni told a press conference measures. flood or heavy rain would stir up charged with working out how to before the company admitted acci- tion" along Western Europe's ma- should pay for. "We cannot be

Swiss authorities hope to remove another plant several miles down- this threat by sucking the toxic

sludge that contains lethal mercury off the river floor as soon as possible. Dr Hurni said

Dr Gerhard Schmid, a Sandoz director, said the company would compensation for damages caused by the spill, but it must be "legally substantiated" that the contaminated waste originated from Sandoz. Sandoz has liability insurthe company has been violating ... Schweizerhalle-plant-between Au- ance "commensurate with the norms of the chemical industry," the Government for indulging Several hundred kilograms of and it covers environmental dam-

The Swiss President, Mr Alphons Egli, last week hosted a Wales Supreme Court began with meeting with the environment ministers of West Germany, saster if heavy rain falls over France, Holland, and Luxembourg, and the EEC Commissioner for the Greenpeace's chemical of the canton's Water Protection International Rhine Commission should consider improved safety

> The commission has been expected to pay for all the pollution in the Rhine," Mr Egli said. Le Monde, page 12

# in Sydney

THE British Government suffered courts when it failed to delay the course meet demands" for prevent publication of the memoirs "mumbo jumbo" and "serpentine weavings" — should not go shead.

unnamed former MI5 officer who

## MI5 trial starts By Richard Norton-Taylor

a further setback in the Australian

Robert Armstrong, the Cabine trained Mr Wright in the early

Sir Robert argues that M Wright is in breach of his duty of confidentiality, that the knowledge gleaned from books by former members of the security service could help terrorists, and that Mr Wright were allowed to publis his memoirs individuals who voluntarily helped MI5 would no longer have the confidence to do so. GRANTA

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Phillips and Martin Amis on money and peanut butter.

and Milan Kundera on the death of Europe.

James Fenton looting presidential palaces

Doris Lessing on growing up on a farm in Rhodesia.

By Martin Walker in Moscow

IF ANY single strategic objective between civilian and defence sec-emerges from the Babel of Wash-ington's foreign policy, it is to rely Gorbachev is unconvinced by the on Star Wars as a fail-safe political threat of Star Wars is that he

is designed either to bully Mr Gorbachev, or to bankrupt him. At tem's resilience and capacity to the very least, it will force him to meet a challenge came in 1941. put his grandiose plans for the domestic economy on to the back-burner, and pour scarce roubles tions and steel mills, and a third of

which doubtless looks good in a is under increasing strain from defence-swollen budgets and deficits, is that it may be based on a flawed interpretation of how the Soxiet economy actually works.

simplistic mathematical model ily have been subtracted from the

tool, even if it is not a guaranteed comprehends the nature of the weapon.

Soviet system. Whenever the state Should it never actually work, is presented with a supreme chalbut simply keep America's military-industrial complex in the structure to mobilise all state style to which is has grown accustomed, it will still put intolerable pressure on the Soviet economy. It cess.

into a crash military programme its population to Hitler's invasion, to catch up. That, at least, is the the system absorbed these desperties.

theory. recovered. By 1943, it was producing more tanks and aircraft than Germany. By 1945, the Red Army had fought all the way back to

> system no longer works that way, and Mikhail Gorbachev is not the man to impose the merciless disci-pline that come while the country into line. But consider Chernobyl.

Clearly, that the disaster haphappened, stands as a monstrous other side. But it ignores the indictment of Soviet administrapossibility of spin-off - of invest- tion and management. But as the ment in military high-tech paying days passed, and it became in off handsomely in the civilian creasingly evident that the scien-sector. tists and technicians conscripted This is odd, because this kind of into Chernobyl were fighting a spin-off has undoubtedly worked melt-down, the level of their well in Western economies. Ameriachievement became steadily more can computer and chip design has impressive. They were confronting benefited from years of Pentagon and solving problems that no one

"This is a country where they do not just tighten their belts. If need be, they eat

Ford and Chrysler and General Motors were eased by Pentagon orders for military hardware.

Soviet civilian economy has long efforts were being mobilised at overlap to a striking degree. The best refrigerator on the market is the Biryusa model, which is turned out by the factories of the Strategic were sluicing down the roads and Rocket Forces. The best vacuum cleaner is the Raketa, produced by the Ministry of Aviation factories, which also turn out excellent

children's prams. war machine.

turn out short-wave radios and optical lenses and trucks and priorities. specialist clothing for both soldiers The way the Soviet system and civilian salika. Bear in mind reacted to Chernobyl was the old that one vital input for Western Russian steam-roller in a new intelligence is to take satellite form, obedient, single-minded, and out their floor space and extrapo- must, it will respond to the challate military production from that. lenge of Star Wars in the same This is the kind of hit and miss way. If it means sacrifice, then few guesswork which led the CIA to people on earth have shown the downgrade its estimate of Soviet endurance of the Russians. This is decade from an annual 5 per cent tighten their belts. If needs be growth rate to 2 per cent or even they eat them.

But the immense technical and, guided by microchips these days. perhaps more important, manage- This complex and powerful econorial reserves available within the my can react in unexpected ways defence sector are no secret to the to sudden surges of high-tech Politburo. Among Mikhail Gor- investment being made available bachev's first appointments to the to scientists who are given carte. rank of deputy Prime Ministers blanche - and an open cheque. were three relatively young profes- And after the tragedy of the sional technocrats and managers Challenger space shuttle, it is a from the defence industries.

investment. The hard times for on earth had ever faced before. It was not just that they brought the rogue reactor under control that was so striking, it was the And in much the same way, the way that so many other huge once. There were three separate waves of evacuation, that finally involved over 200,000 people. while from Kiev 200 miles north to Gomel the decontamination teams

wells, and bulldozing the top soil, There was the alternative water supply to be built for Kiev, and the food from safe parts of the country This symbiosis between civilian to be found and brought to feed and defence sectors has always some five million people. In Kiev confused Western analysts, be- and the affected zones, there were cause it makes it so difficult to the mass screening programme, work out just what proportion of the evacuation of Kiev's children. the GNP Moscow is spending on its and a great many tough decisions

trees and houses, cleaning the

And they were made with a brutally realistic sense o

pictures of defence factories, work stunningly effective. And if it defence apending over the past a country where they do not just

But the Russian steam-roller i dangerously over-confident US Even more than the symbiosis that relies on its technological lead.

## The roads in Rome By George Armstrong

THE AIR in Rome now has the highest concentration of carbon dioxide in the world. In the last 35 years, locally-registered vehicles or one for every two

Environmental watchdogs claim that in the last seven years the pollution in Rome's historic centre has risen by 43 points, while West Berlin's has fallen by 14 points, and New York's by 18.

Last month, Mr Gianfranco

Amendola, a Rome magistrate, se up pollution measuring points in the city centre, as well as mobile units for certain crossroads outside

On the basis of early results he announced last week that if the centre of Rome to private traffic by the end of this month he will order the police to keep care out.

A prominent law professor says that Mr Amendola does not have the power to do so, unless he wants to accuse the mayor and the city council of "negligence of official duty." That could be what Mr Amendola has in mind.

A group of municipal of their members have chronic bronchitis, have taken to appearing for duty wearing anti-smog masks. Their superiors told them to take the musks off because concealing the face violates an anti-terrorism law.

## Gangs get arms from careless US army

By Mark Tran in Washington

The equipment, worth thousands of dollars, is being siphoned off from army bases by unscrupulous troops who know there is a ready market on civvy street. Their job is made all the easier by slipshod

Mr Bill Livingstone, a congressional staff member dealing with the

In testimony before a congreshow he spirited away \$23,000 in anti-tank rockets, mines, and other hardware by just loading up his truck from an army depot.

Mr Helmer was arrested last said that the army's ammunition supply system is so flawed that it "allowed me and others to walk away from any military installa-

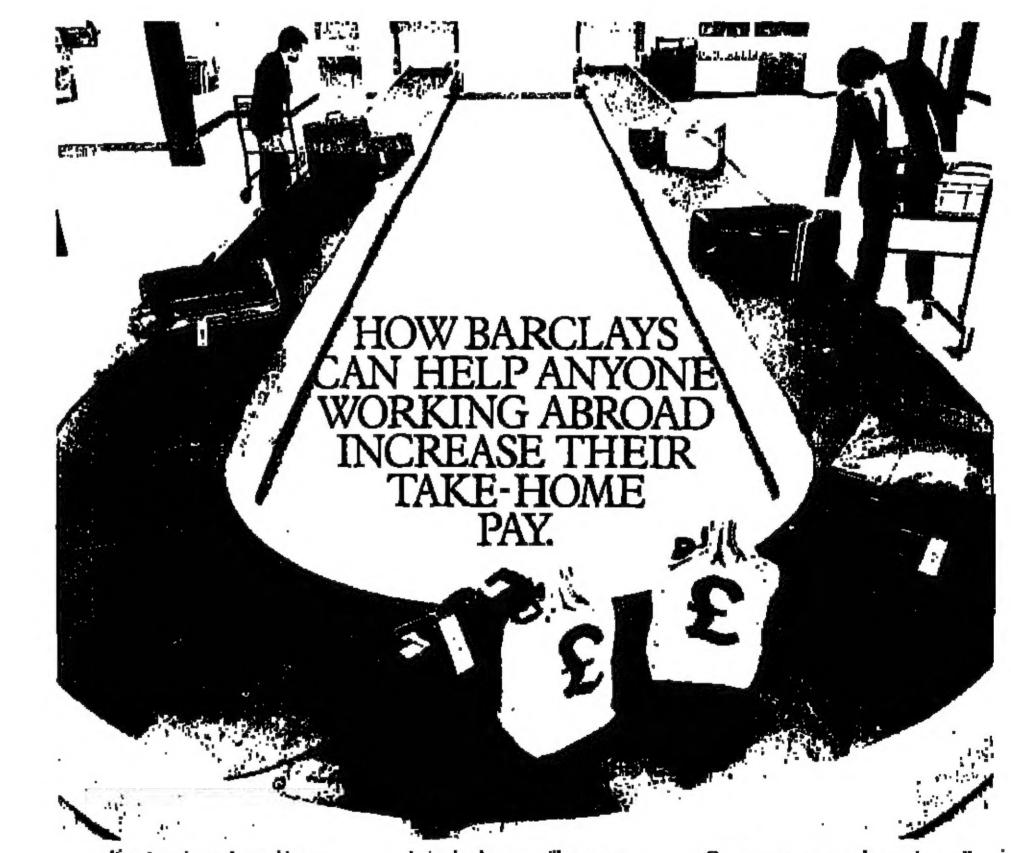
AMERICA'S motorcycle gangs, at Fort Lewis, Washington, dedrug-dealers, survivalists, and un- scribed how the atolen weapons derground criminal elements are would find a ready market in three getting their hands on machine- rival gangs. Mr Helmer took his guns, anti-tank rockets, grenades, loot home to Florida with the and other weapons, courtesy of the intention of going to Central America. But he went off the idea and the arms remained in his

Some of the army's troubles are of its own making. It is very hard, for example, said Mr Livingstone, for troops to return unused ammuarmy practices.

"Drug-dealers take the weapons can take up to four hours to get through the bureaucracy. Some for drugs, because they can get people don't bother and hang on to more than with greenbacks," said the stuff."

Mr Holmer and other supply officials also found it easy to alter ammunition accounting records to cover stelen, misplaced or unused sional task force, chaired by Sena- weapons. Mr Helmer, said Mr tor Pete Wilson, a former supply Livingstone, even had his own sergeant with an army ranger arms cache, with its own guards, unit, Mr Shawn Helmer, described at Fort Lewis, so that he could bypass the normal bureaucracy and was even complimented for it.

Mr Livingstone said that the army has taken some measures since last spring, when Senator the army will cut down by half the amount of ammunition and explosives to be used in exercises and will conduct more random searches on troops leaving base.



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By consuring that your carnings are to organise your financial affairs lafest carefully managed, our Experient Advisory—you leave. Service can help to make your spell abroad even more financially rewarding Burelys Expatriate Advisory Service is based in the Charmel Islands.

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## City whistle-blowing is not enough

THE emerging scandals on both sides of the with commendable speed to require the ing buyers and sellers. But as long as Atlantic involving financiers who make resignation of Mr Geoffrey Collier, its investors have the "freedom" to deal in illegal fortunes out of "inside information" prices fell earlier this week because of fears that merger mania in the US, which has helped to push share prices up, will subside sharply once denied the thrust of the deals now known to be based on inside knowledge, illegally acquired. The most dramatic example involves Mr Ivan Boesky. Instead of a New York investing genius, he turned who tipped him off about coming takeover bids so he could buy cheap and sell dear. The risk capitalist had removed the risks. He was only found out because he was shopped by another arbitrageur, Mr Dennis an imperative not to know. Unless these so-

So far Whitehall and the City have come out of the latter's own mini-scandal well. The Government has brought forward its tougher powers which enable it to compel suspects to co-operate under pain of contempt of court. Morgan Grenfell has acted

£200,000-a-year securities director who was discovered using inside information to buy shares in a company which was the object of a take-over bid. But, as everyone in the City knows, this may be only the tip of the iceberg. As the City's activities become more internationalised, the scope and temptation for scandal will become much greater. Mr Collier (whose trade was buying and selling shares) was told by another arm of Morgan Grenfell (which advised companies on take-over bids) of an impending bid on a "need to know" basis, because of Mr Collier's expertise about valuing shares. Need to know? Surely this is a clear case of called Chinese walls separating the banking and dealing arms of City firms are not to blow away entirely, then much more needs to be done. Whistle-blowing is not enough. The City's ability to detect rogue deals should be greatly improved later on when computers are able to scan dealings check-

nominee names, this approach will simply capture the amateurs. It will seldom be able to track down a deal originating, say, in the Cayman Islands by a completely anonymous company. If London banned dealing in nominee names, the business would simply shift elsewhere. The internationalisation of markets demands an international response in terms of policing it. A start could be made if Britain, Japan, and the United States made it illegal to engage in any new deals except where the ultimate beneficial owners are identified. It is morally repugnant to most people that the Government should spend so many resources seeking out social security scroungers and checking the credentials of the unemployed while leaving so many illegal deals in the City unchecked. To its credit, the Government is now moving fast. But it should also be drawing up contingency plans to introduce a full blooded US-style statutory system in case the City's own self policing flags and fails.

## Reagan's SDI in the Kremlin's interest

IF at the end of five years the deal on the table at Reykjavik comes about, and the US and Soviet strategic arsenals are reduced by half, the future of Britain's own deterrent as currently conceived will be even more doubtful than it is now. Certainly the if is a Thatcher on her brief visit to Camp David. For the one-half reduction would be part of a two-phase programme in which ballistic missiles were eliminated entirely. But Britain's present strategy depends on American willingness to supply the Trident missile to which we add a British warhead. If the US has, in ten years' time, gone out of the ballistic business and placed its nuclear reliance elsewhere, whence comes the British deterrent?

Mrs Thatcher secured once again Mr Reagan's endorsement of the British Trident programme. What else could he say? Moreover the US will continue to modernise its own weapons until an agreement with the Russians is signed. That would have been the purest orthodoxy a few weeks ago, but it is not now, and there is a fault in it assured by the Pentagon that it can have and its Trident, the Congress will look even more closely at projects to upgrade them. By that time the US will, saving a new President who disowns the whole concept. combined cost of both defensive and offen-

sive systems will be punative.

However, the reduction or abolition strategic forces is only part of the Reykjavik prospect. Before then comes the programme to remove altogether the intermediate. here Mr Gorbachev is twisting the screw Originally this was not to be linked with any surrender by the Americans of SDI, and there is no reason why it should be, because the two are unrelated. SDI does not cover either the European theatre or cruise missiles. Suddenly, however, they are linked in the Soviet drafts, and since there is no military reason why they should be. the reason must be political.

The Kremlin must know there is still mileage to be gained from the European anti-nuclear lobby. And by making not just disarmament in the large but disarmament in Europe contingent on the abandonment - tools for the job.

European governments to distance themselves from that enterprise. That is prob ably a clever move. There is even less love among European scientists - the unutil milerican for the extravagances of SDI, and there is a strong wish among European politicians to see the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (the only enduring piece of arms control) remain intact. It cannot remain intact from the moment American R&D moves out of the laboratory. Moreover even if parts of it were shown to work land could never be fully tested this side Armageddon) Europe would be none the safer. The only thing going for the SDI Europe is the contract work, which has turned out so far to be paltry. The US consistently says that Soviet policy designed to drive a wedge between the Atlantic partners. In SDI it is providing the

## History lives — and dies

somewhere. If the American public is MOST people's probable first thought on current Who's Who. Though regrettably learning of the death of Vyacheslav Molosecurity without its Minuteman, its MX, toy, Stalin's foreign minister, must have been surprise that he had still been alive. Probably the only people outside Mr Molotoy's inevitably sparse circle of friends and be even deeper into Star Wars (SDI) and the with us in 1986 were browsers who have happened upon his remarkable entry in the

## Pressures on the President

Continued from page 1 the NSC trusties from the office down the White House hall — are the leakproof chaps you use. Some hostages get released. Contacts are made. The hook is the inevitable one of arms shipments to a nation fighting a war.

What are you doing wrong? You are trying to save innocent lives, trying to throw the American national interest forward into the years after Khomeini, keeping it dark, because that's the only way to keep it, dreading - perhaps even thinking about the day — when some pot stirrer (an Iranian faction, an irate Syria) blows the gaffe and lands you up to your neck in political dung.

The dissection of that odiferous pile --case for not getting involved in the first place. Wearing your white hat, on your high moral horse, you're also the champion of laws against any trade with Tehran, the imposer of sanctions, and the dropper of bombs elsewhere in the alleged war against State-sponsored terrorism (a concept that you yourself largely invented). Whether you meant it or not, you're sending missiles to arch propagators of such terrorism in return for the promised release of a handful of men. On practical grounds the message is clear. Nab a few more Americans and more guns will flow. Lethal cause and effect.

How, at this stage, are mere onlookers difficult diplomatic decisions to the crude, (George Shultz, Margaret Thatcher, maybe unfair, world of sweeping political Jacques Chirac and humble newspaper readers) to assess the conflicting arguments? In fairness, the case for Reagan's world that will judge him,

defence isn't negligible. One can see how Washington, filled with tolerable intentions, stumbled down the road to flasco. The choices at signposts along that road aren't easy ones. Nor is the instant Congressional din for power-sharing and full disclosure much more than what those Democrats

would say, wouldn't they? But it is what the President himself had to say on nationwide television that weighs heaviest in the balance; for the grim likelihood, even now, is that he didn't tell the whole truth. Denying that guns were swapped directly for lives (shades of Daniloff) sounds grotesquely disengenuous. If Mr wings) confirm that Israel as a surrogate has been pouring arms into Iran, then Mr Reagan will quite clearly seem the one thing that he has so long striven to avoid seeming: another shifty, mendacious, retreating politician in a jam. There is that hint of desperation already. Chucking more bravado denunciations of Colonel Gadafy into his TV apologia is tawdry stuff. Asserting that the "no concessions" policy remains in force is a hollow laugh. As the story unwinds, Ronald Reagan is appallingly vulnerable, the Vicar of Absolute Purity caught in bed with the curate's wife, and crying that he walked in his sleep. We move, instantly, from the shrouded world of perceptions. That is the world that Mr Reagan has long made his own. And it is the

silent on the late diplomat's hobbles and recreations, the entry (which nestles hetween those of a former editor of the Daily Mirror and the leader of the Ulster Unionist Party) must surely be the only one in the volume to include membership of the executive committee of the Petrograd Soviet in 1917, let alone participation in the 1905 revolution against the Tear.

Next year's Who's Who will be the poorer

for Mr Molotov's passing. The thing about his life, of course, is that its shape was distorted. He became famous while still (by some standards) fairly young, but then disappeared from public view while continuing to lead a long life. This might be called the Norma Desmond effect, after the central character in Billy Wilder's film Sunset Boulevard. It particularly affected the stars of the silent movies who failed to make the transition to fame in the talkies. In political life, however, it is more or less essential to live in a dictatorship to qualify. You need to be overthrown and, better still, disgraced Provided that they survive premature death (not always easy in their trade), deposed politicians are the silent screen stars' only serious rivals in this regard. In a decade or so, Mr Alexander Dubcek could be a challenger (he is hampered, though, by the fact that too many people will never forget him). The same problem dogs the claims of Biafra's General Ojukwu who is not gone, but not forgotten either. And, though it hardly does to mention him in the same breath, how many people know that Mr well and only 65? But with the death of Mr Molotov, the palm for the world's most famous forgotten man now probably passes to Mr Georgi Malenkov, who succeeded Stalin as ruler of the USSR in 1953 only to be promoted a few years later to manage the would see Alfonsin as the best bet for Ust-Kamenogorsk hydro-electric power sta- settlement in modern history, and be tion. Mr Malenkov, born 1901, is still among us, still in Who's Who, and gives his year transition deal with him, But we seem address (like Mr Molotov) as c/o the Ministry of Social Security in Moscow. They up: and when it does, in Buenos Aires, we clearly know a thing or two about ensuring shall surely lament an opportunity cravenly a quiet retirement there.

## The US and the Falklands

ONE neat, but unwelcome irony. In London - an almost ritual appendage to the Speech these days — the Queen was busy "honouring" her Government's "commitments" t the people of the Falklands. In Guatemak City, meanwhile, all 31 foreign ministers from the Organisation of American States were unanimously passing a motion criticising Britain's new fishing zone around the islands for adding "another element to the existing situation of tension and potential conflict . . . over the Malvinas". UN resolutions on sovereignty were duly endorsed. Efforts at "diplomatic negotiations" by the Argentine government were fulsomely applauded. And one name amongst 31 perhaps stood out in clear relief - George Shultz, Secretary of State, the USA.

America's profound distaste for Britain's Falklands intransigence has been known for years. But the OAS resolution goes further than ever before. It endorses - pretty explicitly - Buenos Aires' claims to sovereignty over the islands. It slaps President Alfonsin on the back. And it kicks Sir Geoffrey on the knee for his fishing gambit Anyone who thought that the British position over sovereignty and the rights of the islanders might begin eventually to make a little headway should think again We are, in all meaningful respects along the issue. Our much touted superpower ally

None of this, perhaps, matters too immediately in a world where - save for miserable accident - Britain and Argentina aren't going to war again. As long as the taxpayer is willing to pick up the tab, the Falklands can be maintained in a tolerably stable state: neither prospering nor declining. If (and when) Mrs Thutcher loses office, or retires to Dulwich, then matters may unwind somewhat. All the Opposition parties are pledged to negotiate a solution ta form of words that means negotiate about sovereignty). It is also, in truth, difficult to see any likely Tory successor in Downing Street shelling out hundreds of millions a year into this most unremunerative of enterprises. But our present Prime Minister will have nothing to do with such grey (Foreign Office) prognostications. The lady was utterly prepared to talk about sovereignty before General Galtieri's invasion but the Argentine landings, in some slightly unformulated way, appear to have wiped any of the old formulas for progress from the face of the earth - notwithstanding the self-evident facts that Galtieri is in gaol and President Alfonsin is one of the purest and most amonable democrats in South

Why should this be? Originally, it was said that the wounds of battle were too fresh to consider further negotiation. But time passos, scabs form, and nothing happens, Originally, it was said thy Mrs Thatcher and her then Foreign Secretary) that the islanders would be formally and fully consulted about their future. A referendun That hasn't happened either. Westminster has had no propositions to consider. HMG's UN team has had no new arguments to put There is only the most doleful vacuum: a refusal to shift or think, or do anything more — see the fishing affair — than react when the other side makes a minima move. All of which would be tolerably defensible if the islanders themselves were being looked after and given the calm future that they crave. But that isn't happening either. For years the Falklanders have wanted their fisheries developed Whitehall turned a deaf ear, and an empty purse. There's no official belief here that the islands (balefully shunned by the continent in whose shadow they live) can ever be more than an economic basket case. Equally Whitehall (because it knows the mortality of transient politicians) reognises that one day the 1,400 or so indigenous Falklanders will be told the truth and asked to choose. It the meantime, therefore there is only a conspiracy of silence and indecision. A British government that really wanted to secure the livelihoods of the Falklanders hammering out a 25-year, 50-year, nay 100merely to be waiting for something to turn

# Le Monde

**ENGLISH SECTION** 

## Speaking with forked tongue

THE KHOMEINI revolution will States cannot cut itself off for good country in one of the world's most strategic regions. This, in a nuta "email quantity" of American arms. The secret talks conducted this summer in the Iranian capital by former White House National security adviser Robert McFarlane outright contradiction of Washington's official position of not negoti-Iran, a government that sponsors can policy shift in the area is being posing an embargo on all military Arab countries which are allies of convince. Congress and the press | in a Radio Franco Internationale the Gulf War belligerents.

Secretary Caspar Weinberger be- insists Iranian President Ali thing and doing another. ing let in on what was afoot.

A UNITED Nations report released in

11, considered that "the presence of

their participation in the conflict

intolerable suffering of the Aghan

refugees," whose number it puts at

inside the country). The report,

drawn up by Fellx Ermacora from

testimony provided by refugees.

with dynamite rather than surren-

made a "Hero of Afghanistan" -

the country's highest distinction, modelled on its Soviet counterpart,

Workmen have been busy this

compared with 1985.

since 1978.

three people.

What does it amount to? An to be aggressive and considerations, of a certain number of strategic realities. With its ever, are fairly general reservapopulation of 45 million, vast oil and natural gas resources, a pow-

#### COMMENT

Khameni, "so long as it continues

hegemonic . . . and support the Zionist regime." But these, howtions and they do not slam the door

convincing had it not been for the past 18 months, and each time, oddly enough, an American hostage held by pro-Iranian Shi'ite putting his hand on his heart in | the conference, but they were such horse trade and that his country was sticking by its unshakable determination not to negotiate the hostage-takers and damaging of this, and the switch had been are taking a more cautious line official stand on terrorism. And carefully prepared by a restricted which perhaps reflects their own those few sanctions later angroup of advisors in near-total divided reactions to Washington's nounced against Syria that will secreey without either Secretary of overtures. "There'll be no reconcili- not dissipate the impression that State Ceorge Shultz or Defence ation with the United States," the White House is saying one

(November 16/17)

#### toreign troops (in Afghanistan) and to remain in remains the direct cause of the over 5 millions, including the one million "uprooted persons" still

Kabul's main modern avenue, ruin. So why repair it today?

with the furious honking of car ity, indeed legitimacy, the Afghan ate.

#### calico stuck on stakes driven into By Dominique Dhombres the soil which flap in the breeze.

The flags are either red, in the King Zahir Shah is hardly men-

Party - APDP), or green, the been a friend of the Soviets, but who were too old and too tired to and 3,000 fighters, as they always colour of Islam. At the entrance to that his friendship does not extend take a personal interest in the move around with their housethis "martyrs' cemetery" only one to wanting their presence in his problem, Gorbachev quickly came holds. tomb stands out by its ornateness. country. Attacks on the monarchy, to the conclusion that Babrak Determined to demonstrate it The headstone indicates it is that which were very strong in the Karmal was incapable of bringing of a general who had done his early years of the revolution, have about peace and winning the war lieved to have agreed to send military training in the United ceased almost entirely.

teen months ago when he was for the immediate future. But the winning the war either. surrounded by guerrillas in the very fact that the subject is dis- All this is tied in with the March and medical aid (especially field Panishir valley he blew himself up cussed within the APDP itself says congress of the Communist Party medical units), uniforms and so on. much for current mood in Kabul. It of the Soviet Union. The drawn All this means that France has der. Ahmad Din was posthumously is an admission of defeat after features of the man the Soviets given Habré the green light to made a "Hero of Afghanistan" — more than eight years of "revolutook with them and installed in carry out a several quick strikes

most imposing monuments — the fused by their Afghan traditions.

Babrak Karmal was a lowyer by profession, Soltan Ali Kechmand an economist and Mohammed Najib a physician

power in April 1976, the APDF entire country. The peasants confounded the militants' expectations by taking up their guns to defend tomb of King Nadir Shah, who their traditional chiefs against died in 1933. He was the father of these smoothies come down from number of civillan victims has di- the last king of Afghanistan, Zahir the capital who wanted to redisminished considerably this year Shah, who was deposed in 1973 tribute their land holdings and and is now living in exile in Italy. turn the mosques into party of-Under the monarchy this was fices. Beset by factional quarrels KABUL - The hill overlooks the where visiting heads of state came that were fought out with city. Down below can be seen the to place wreaths. After the 1978 submachine-guns, in a matter of teeming commercial district of revolution, the monument was months the APDP showed it was Mandai and the traffic snarls on ransacked and allowed to go to incapable of holding, let alone managing, a country that was 80 Maiwand. The roar of the traffic Anxious to acquire respectabil- per cent rural, Muslim and illiter-

horns can be heard, but here on government is reported to have The party's more doctrinaire intelligence services which the top of the hill everything is made secret overtures to the for- members wanted Soviet intervensilent and deserted. All around as mer ruler. According to rumours tion. They got it even before Habré and his allies are saving. actually asking for it, and the civil war, now combined with a foreign living north of the 16th parallel occupation, has dragged on ever are now rallying to N'Djamena, Each stake is planted on a humble flying around in Kabul — it is as since. The pioneer militants — and the figure is said to represent mound. They are the graves of the much a rumour-factory as Moscow physicians, lawyers and teachers a good quarter of the 150,000 thousands of soldiers of the regular — the deposed king asked as a — acknowledge the mistakes that | Chadians in the north. There is Afghan army who have fallen prerequisite that his father's tomb were made and make no secret of their dissatisfaction.

case of the country's tioned here, but he does not lack Gorbachey's arrival in the Kremsole party (the communist Af political solingua his has just lin has drastically changed the
ghanistan People's Democratic pointed out that he has "always" situation. Unlike his predecessors, would represent between 2,000 at the same time. Meanwhile, the additional assistance. This would States and the Soviet Union. Eigh- The monarchist solution is not Soviet army had not succeeded in include light weapons, communica-

In the beginning the APDP was sufficient indication of the ordeal make contact with Goukouni's following which has been awarded to only a small party of Marxist he was suffering. Gorbachev and lowers, provide them with munimiddleclass intellectuals who were the CPSU's No 2 man, Yegor tions and help the civilian popuboth doctrinaire by reason of their Ligachev, criticised Karmal for lation hard hit by recent Libyan summer cleaning and repairing (in many cases, French) trying to apply the Marxist model bomb attacks.
one of the country's oldest and philosphical training and short- "mechanically" in a country that The plan work

## Lomé dominated by Chad fighting

ference which ended on Saturday. parallei. Paris has given its de facto approval to President Hissène and is planning an appreciable believed, three shipments of arms | government. What used to be a

> LOME - Apart from Chad, severca, sub-Saharan Africa's economic plight and the African debt. The later. What he said was very no mind to grant him any. significant as he has been keeping close watch on the situation and

The Lomé Franco-African con- for France of averting the necessity of providing air cover for November 15, was dominated by the conflict in Chad where fighting has something that neither Mitterrand nor Chirac at present wants. The Libyan forces present in northern Chad may after all be weaker than they appear and will have a hard time standing up to the Goukounists when they round on thom. Especially as they have come far from their rear bases Libyan arms, including doubtless with such a missile that on Thursday a Libyan Marchetti plane was downed. Already more combative, those fighters should be atrengthened in their new conviction by the French military aid

It scoms a reasonable enough calculation considering that the Libyan army's morale is said to be low. Nevertheless, it does involve few risks for France particularly Colonel Gadafy decides to go for broke and accept the challenge instead to waiting to see what way Iraq and they have already voiced blame him for knuckling under to interview on Wednesday last out Paris might propose, even weck, were underlined even more Hissène Habré, whose power is The White House is well aware In Tehran, the Iranium leaders the credibility of Washington's | sharply by the President two days said to be growing, is doubtless in

channelled through N'Djamena.

On the other hand, politically nolody is taking seriously the his remarks are always extremely communique published on Friday by five factions hostile to Habre in What he said in effect was that which they announced that the character of the Chadian con- Goukoum Ouedder had been that has changed. It is in the stripped of his authority and that process of turning from civil war the leadership had been transinto an international dispute in- ferred to Mohammed Issa, a man volving two states. The world, he known to be working for the

By Jacques Amairic

said, would soon be able to see Libyans.

today become international." United Nations Security Council.

analysis implies a distinct change creating it. in French policy which must now balance of power is becoming increasingly evident to French even talk of 40,000 presumed followers of Goukouni Queddei Party Secretary Mikhail (who rebelled against N'Djamena)

understands Habré. Paris is be-

Continued on page 14 and N'Djamena has the advantage

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Other figures also contributed to the ground. Now the change in the roles were more mixed. Félix and anxious to show that he was still refusing to have anything to do with Mitterrand, whom he blames for allowing (the French daily) Le Matin and (the Socialist Party) publication L'Unité to write things about him that are usually not aired. The two men did indeed meet for about a quarter of an hour, but the Ivory Coast leader did not appear at any of the banquets and preferred to retire to Yamoussoukro on Friday afternoon, where he met Jacques Chirac the following evening. Chirac never ceased to reiterate his admiration for the "wise alo

One last point whose effects it is still too early to evaluate - the idea of a Marshall plan for the countries of the south. The proposal was made by Eyedema and taken up by Mitterrand who noted tions equipment, humanitarian that 1987 would be the 40th anniversary of the European Marshall Plan which did so much to reactivate European industry after the end of the second world war. carry out a several quick strikes The question is whether the idea Kabul in December 1979 were a | well across the 16th parallel to | will go any farther than Lomé. Is it realistic to imagine the countries of the North feeling a sense of solidarity with the countries of the South similar to the way the United States reacted towards Eu-The plan worked out by Paris rope at the end of the war?

(November 16/17)

## City whistle-blowing is not enough

THE emerging scandals on both sides of the Atlantic involving financiers who make illegal fortunes out of "inside information" will make waves for years to come. Share prices fell earlier this week because of fears that merger mania in the US, which has helped to push share prices up, will subside sharply once denied the thrust of the deals now known to be based on inside knowledge, illegally acquired. The most dramatic example involves Mr Ivan Boesky. Instead of a New York investing genius, he turned out to be at the centre of a web of informers who tipped him off about coming takeover bids so he could buy cheap and sell dear. The risk capitalist had removed the risks. He was only found out because he was shopped by another arbitrageur, Mr Dennis

So far Whitehall and the City have come out of the latter's own mini-scandal well. The Government has brought forward its tougher powers which enable it to compel suspects to co-operate under pain of contempt of court. Morgan Granfell has acted

with commendable speed to require the resignation of Mr Geoffrey Collier, its £200,000-a-year securities director who was discovered using inside information to buy shares in a company which was the object of a take-over bid. But, as everyone in the City knows, this may be only the tip of the iceberg. As the City's activities become more internationalised, the scope and temptation for scandal will become much greater. Mr Collier (whose trade was buying and selling shares) was told by another arm of Morgan Grenfell (which advised companies on take-over bids) of an impending bid on a "need to know" basis, because of Mr Collier's expertise about valuing shares. Need to know? Surely this is a clear case of an imperative not to know. Unless these socalled Chinese walls separating the banking and dealing arms of City firms are not to blow away entirely, then much more needs to be done. Whistle-blowing is not enough. The City's ability to detect rogue deals should be greatly improved later on when

ing buyers and sellers. But as long as investors have the "freedom" to deal in nominee names, this approach will simply capture the amateurs. It will seldom be able to track down a deal originating, say, in the Cayman Islands by a completely anonymous company. If London banned dealing in nomines names, the business would simply shift elsewhere. The internationalisation of markets demands an international response in terms of policing it. A start could be made f Britain, Japan, and the United States made it illegal to engage in any new deals except where the ultimate beneficial owners are identified. It is morally repugnant to most people that the Government should spend so many resources seeking out social security scroungers and checking the credentials of the unemployed while leaving so many illegal deals in the City unchecked. To its credit, the Government is now moving fast. But it should also be drawing up contingency plans to introduce a full blooded US-style statutory system in case the City's own self policing flags and fails.

## Reagan's SDI in the Kremlin's interest

computers are able to scan dealings check-

IF at the end of five years the deal on the table at Revkjavik comes about, and the US and Soviet strategic arsenals are reduced by half, the future of Britain's own deterrent as currently conceived will be even more doubtful than it is now. Certainly the if is a Thatcher on her brief visit to Camp David. For the one-half reduction would be part of a two-phase programme in which ballistic missiles were climinated entirely. But Britain's present strategy depends on American willingness to supply the Trident missile to which we add a British warhead If the US has, in ten years' time, gone out of the ballistic business and placed its nuclear reliance elsewhere, whence comes the British deterrent?

Mrs Thatcher secured once again Mr Reagan's endorsement of the British Trident programme. What else could be say? Moreover the US will continue to modernise its own weapons until an agreement with the Russians is signed. That would have been the purest orthodoxy a few weeks ago, but it is not now, and there is a fault in it somewhere. If the American public is assured by the Pentagon that it can have security without its Minuteman, its MX, and its Trident, the Congress will look even more closely at projects to upgrade them. By that time the US will, saving a new President who disowns the whole concept. be even deeper into Star Wars (SDI) and the combined cost of both defensive and offensive systems will be punative.

However, the reduction or abolition strategic forces is only part of the Reykjavik prospect. Before then comes the programme o remove altogether the intermediate. here Mr Gorbachev is twisting the screw. Originally this was not to be linked with any surrender by the Americans of SDI, and there is no reason why it should be, because the two are unrelated. SDI does not cover either the European theatre or cruise missiles. Suddenly, however, they are linked in the Soviet drafts, and since there is no military reason why they should be, the reason must be political.

The Kremlin must know there is still mileage to be gained from the European anti-nuclear lobby. And by making not just disarmament in the large but disarmament in Europe contingent on the abandonment

learning of the death of Vyacheslav Molotov. Stalin's foreign minister, must have been surprise that he had still been alive. Probably the only people outside Mr Molotoy's inevitably sparse circle of friends and relations (he was 96) who knew he was still with us in 1986 were browsers who have happened upon his remarkable entry in the

## Pressures on the President

Continued from page 1 the NSC trusties from the office down the White House hall — are the leakproof chaps you use. Some hostages get released. Contacts are made. The hook is the inevitable one of arms shipments to a nation fighting a war.

What are you doing wrong? You are trying to save innocent lives, trying to throw the American national interest forward into the years after Khomeini, keeping it dark, because that's the only way to keep it. dreading - perhaps even thinking about the day — when some pot stirrer (an Iranian faction, an irate Syria) blows the gaffe and lands you up to your neck in

30

political dung. The dissection of that odiferous pile -underway as we speak — is intrinsically the case for not getting involved in the first place. Wearing your white hat, on your high moral horse, you're also the champion of laws against any trade with Tehran, the imposer of sanctions, and the dropper of bombs elsewhere in the alleged war against State-sponsored terrorism (a concept that you yourself largely invented). Whether you meant it or not, you're sending missiles to arch propagators of such terrorism in return for the promised release of a handful of men. On practical grounds the message is clear. Nab a few more Americans and more guns will flow. Lethal cause and effect.

How, at this stage, are mere onlookers (George Shultz, Margaret Thatcher, Jacques Chirac and humble newspaper readers) to assess the conflicting arguments? In fairness, the case for Reagan's

defence isn't negligible. One can see how Washington, filled with tolerable intentions, stumbled down the road to flasco. The choices at signposts along that road aren't easy ones. Nor is the instant Congressional din for power-sharing and full disclosure much more than what those Democrats

would say, wouldn't they? But it is what the President himself had to say on nationwide television that weighs heaviest in the balance: for the grim likelihood, even now, is that he didn't tell the whole truth. Denying that guns were swapped directly for lives (shades of Daniloff) sounds grotesquely disengenuous. If Mr Shamir and Mr Peres (shifting visibly in the wings) confirm that Israel as a surrogate has been pouring arms into Iran, then Mr Reagan will quite clearly seem the one thing that he has so long striven to avoid seeming: another shifty, mendacious, retreating politician in a jam. There is that hint of desperation already. Chucking more bravado denunciations of Colonel Gadafy into his TV apologia is tawdry stuff. Asserting that the "no concessions" policy remains in force is a hollow laugh. As the story unwinds. Ronald Reagan is appallingly vulnerable, the Vicar of Absolute Purity caught in bed with the curate's wife, and crying that he walked in his sleep. We move, instantly, from the shrouded world of difficult diplomatic decisions to the crude maybe unfair, world of sweeping political perceptions. That is the world that Mr Reagan has long made his own. And it is the world that will judge him,

control) remain intact. It cannot remain intact from the moment American R&D moves out of the inboratory. Moreover even if parts of it were shown to work tand it could never be fully tested this side of Armageddon) Europe would be none the safer. The only thing going for the SDI in Europe is the contract work, which has turned out so far to be paltry. The US consistently says that Soviet policy designed to drive a wedge between the Atlantic partners. In SDI it is providing the History lives — and dies

of SDI it is putting more pressure on

European governments to distance them-

selves from that enterprise. That is prob-

ably a clever move. There is even less love

among European scientists allowing among European scientists and allowing and scientists are sci

here is a strong wish among European

politicians to see the Anti-Ballistic Missile

Preaty (the only enduring piece of arms

MOST people's probable first thought on current Who's Who. Though regrettably recreations, the entry (which nestles between those of a former editor of the Daily Mirror and the leader of the Ulster Unionist Party) must surely be the only one in the volume to include membership of the executive committee of the Petrograd Soviet in 1917, let alone participation in the 1905

revolution against the Tsar. Next year's Who's Who will be the poorer for Mr Molotov's passing. The thing about his life, of course, is that its shape was distorted. He became famous while still (by some standards) fairly young, but then disappeared from public view while continuing to lead a long life. This might be called the Norma Desmond effect, after the central character in Billy Wilder's film Sunset Boulevard. It particularly affected the stars of the silent movies who failed to make the transition to fame in the talkies. In political life, however, it is more or less essential to live in a dictatorship to qualify. You need to be overthrown and, better still, disgraced. Provided that they survive premature death (not always easy in their trade), deposed politicians are the silent screen stars' only serious rivals in this regard. In a decade of so. Mr Alexander Dubcek could be a challenger (he is hampered, though, by the fact that too many people will never forget him). The same problem dogs the claims of Biafra's General Ojukwu who is not gone, but not forgotten either. And, though it breath, how many people know that Mr Pierre Poujade is still very much alive and well and only 65? But with the death of Mr Molotov, the palm for the world's most famous forgotten man now probably passes to Mr Georgi Malenkov, who succeeded Stalin as ruler of the USSR in 1958 only to be promoted a few years later to manage the Ust-Kamenogorsk hydro-electric power station. Mr Malenkov, born 1901, is still among us, still in Who's Who, and gives his address (like Mr Molotov) as c/o the Ministry of Social Security in Moscow. They clearly know a thing or two about ensuring a quiet retirement there.

## The US and the Falklands

ONE neat, but unwelcome irony. In London an almost ritual appendage to the Speech these days - the Queen was busy "honouring" her Government's "commitments" to the people of the Falklands. In Guatemala City, meanwhile, all 31 foreign ministers from the Organisation of American States were unanimously passing a motion criticising Britain's new fishing zone around the islands for adding "another element to the existing situation of tension and potential conflict . . . over the Malvinas". UN resolutions on sovereignty were duly endorsed. Efforts at "diplomatic negotiations" by the Argentine government were fulsomely applauded. And one name amongst 31 perhaps stood out in clear relief - George Shultz, Secretary of State, the USA.

America's profound distaste for Britain's Falklands intransigence has been known for years. But the OAS resolution goes further than ever before. It endorses - pretty explicitly - Buenos Aires' claims to sovereignty over the islands. It slaps Presiden Alfonsin on the back. And it kicks Sir Geoffrey on the knee for his fishing gambit Anyone who thought that the Britisl position over sovereignty and the rights of the islanders might begin eventually to make a little headway should think again. We are, in all meaningful respects along the usue. Util much touted superpower ally is now flatly in the opposition camp.

None of this, perhaps, matters too immediately in a world where - save for miserable accident — Britain and Argentina aren't going to war again. As long as the taxpayer is willing to pick up the tab, the Falklands can be maintained in a tolerably stable state: neither prospering nor declining. If (and when) Mrs Thatcher loses office. or retires to Dulwich, then matters may unwind somewhat. All the Opposition parties are pledged to negotiate a solution (a form of words that means negotiate about sovereignty). It is also, in truth, difficult to see any likely Tory successor in Downing Street shelling out hundreds of millions a year into this most unremunerative of enterprises. But our present Prime Minister will have nothing to do with such grey (Foreign Office) prognostications. The lady was utterly prepared to talk about sovereignty before General Galtieri's invasion but the Argentine landings, in some slightly unformulated way, appear to have wiped any of the old formulas for progress from the face of the earth - notwithstanding the self-evident facts that Galtieri is in gaol and President Alfonsin is one of the purest and most amenable democrats in South

Why should this be? Originally, it was said that the wounds of battle were too fresh to consider further negotiation. But time passes, scabs form, and nothing happens. Originally, it was said (by Mrs Thatcher and her then Foreign Secretary) that the islanders would be formally and fully consulted about their future. A referendum. That hasn't happened either. Westminster has had no propositions to consider. HMG's UN team has had no new arguments to put. There is only the most doleful vacuum: & refusal to shift or think, or do anything more - see the fishing affair - than react when the other side makes a minimal move. All of which would be tolerably defensible if the islanders themselves were being looked after and given the calm future that they crave. But that isn't happening either. For years the Falklanders have wanted their fisheries developed. Whitehall turned a deaf ear, and an empty purse. There's no official belief here that the islands (balefully shunned by the continent in whose shadow they live) can ever be more than an economic basket case. Equally Whitehall (because it knows the mortality of transient politicians) reognises that one day the 1,400 or so indigenous Falklanders will be told the truth and asked to choose. In the meantime, therefore there is only a conspiracy of silence and indecision. A British government that really wanted to secure the livelihoods of the Falklanders would see Alfonsin as the best bet for settlement in modern history, and be hammering out a 25-year, 50-year, nay 100year transition deal with him. But we seem merely to be waiting for something to turn up: and when it does, in Buenos Aires, we shall surely lament an opportunity cravenly

# Le Monde

**ENGLISH SECTION** 

## Speaking with forked tongue

THE KHOMEINI revolution will last only so long and the United States cannot cut itself off for good from Iran, the most important country in one of the world's most strategic regions. This, in a nutshell, is the reasoning put forward by President Reagan for justifying the resumption of contacts between Washington and Tehran and, in particular, the shipment of a "small quantity" of American arms. The secret talks conducted this summer in the Iranian capital by former White House National security adviser Robert McFarlane and the shipment of spare parts for Iranian fighter planes are an outright contradiction of Washington's official position of not negotiating with the Islamic Republic of Iran, a government that sponsors posing an embargo on all military equipment intended for either of the Gulf War belligerents

The White House is well aware of this, and the switch had been carefully prepared by a restricted group of advisers in near-total secreey without either Secretary of State Ceorge Shultz or Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger be-

ing let in on what was afoot. A UNITED Nations report released in New York on Tuesday. November foreign troops (in Afghanistan) and their participation in the conflict remains the direct cause of the intolerable suffering of the Aghan refugees," whose number it puts at over 5 millions, including the one million "uprooted persons" still inside the country). The report, drawn up by Felix Ermacora from testimony provided by refugees, does however point out that the number of civilian victims has compared with 1985.

Kabul's main modern avenue, ruin. So why repair it today? Maiwand. The roar of the traffic the top of the hill everything is made secret overtures to the forcalico stuck on stakes driven into the soil which flap in the breeze.

military training in the United ceased almost entirely. States and the Soviet Union. Eighteen months ago when he was for the immediate future. But the surrounded by guerrillas in the very fact that the subject is dis- All this is tied in with the March der. Ahmad Din was posthumously is an admission of defeat after features of the man the Soviets made a "Hero of Afghanistan" - more than eight years of "revolu- took with them and installed in the country's highest distinction. modelled on its Soviet counterpart, which has been awarded to only

three people. Workmen have been busy this one of the country's oldest and

to be aggressive and Zionist regime." But these, howconsiderations, of a certain numever, are fairly general reservaber of strategic realities. With its population of 45 million, vast oil tions and they do not slam the door and natural gas resources, a poworful army and a border hundreds the Soviet Union, Iran is a country that Washington cannot afford to noglect for long. True, it is still too

COMMENT

early to resume diplomatic ties

with a government which brands

the United States as the "Great Satan" and inflicted an unprocin Tehran as hostages. The American policy shift in the area is being

ation with the United States," insists Iranian President Ale thing and doing another. Khameni, "so long as it continues

Babrak Karmal was a lawyer by profession, Soltan Ali Kechinand an economist and Mohammed Namb a physician

Anxious to acquire respectabil- per cent rural, Muslim and illiterwith the furious honking of car ity, indeed legitimacy, the Afghan horns can be heard, but here on government is reported to have silent and deserted. All around as mer ruler. According to rumours tion. They got it even before

By Dominique Dhombres

flying around in Kabul — it is as Afghan army who have fallen prerequisite that his father's tomb pe made more presentable.

King Zahir Shah is hardly mentioned here, but he does not lack pointed out that he has "always"

philosphical training and short- "mechanically" in a country that The plan worked out by Paris fused by their Afghan traditions.

oddly enough, an American hostage held by pro-Iranian Shi'ite released. Reagan may have been all other subjects were examined at swearing there had been no deal or was sticking by its unshakable | plight and the African debt. The blame him for knuckling under to interview on Wednesday last out Paris might propose, even are taking a more cautious line official stand on terrorism. And later. What he said was very no mind to grant him any. which porhaps reflects their own those few sunctions later andivided reactions to Washington's nounced against Syria that will not dissipate the impression that the White House is soving one

(November 16/17)

power in April 1975, the APDP alienated the rural population, which is to say, practically the entire country. The peasants confounded the militants' expectations by taking up their guns to defend their traditional chiefs against died in 1933. He was the father of these smoothies come down from the last king of Afghanistan. Zahir the capital who wanted to redisminished considerably this year Shah, who was deposed in 1973 tribute their land holdings and and is now living in exile in Italy. turn the mosques into party of Under the monarchy this was fices. Beset by factional quarrels KABUL - The hill overlooks the where visiting heads of state came that were fought out with to place wreaths. After the 1978 submachine-guns, in a matter teeming commercial district of revolution, the monument was months the APDP showed it was Mandai and the traffic snarls on ransacked and allowed to go to incapable of holding, let alone managing, a country that was 80

The party's more doctrinaire members wanted Soviet intervenactually asking for it, and the civil | More and more of the nomads war, now combined with a foreign occupation, has dragged on ever since. The pioneer militants mound. They are the graves of the much a rumour-factory as Moscow physicians, lawyers and teachers thousands of soldiers of the regular — the deposed king asked as a — acknowledge the mistakes that were made and make no secret of their dissatisfaction.

Party Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's arrival in the Kromsole party (the communist Af political noumetics He has just in has drastically changed the their ellegiance to Habre. This situation. Unlike his predecessors, would represent between 2,000 colour of Islam. At the entrance to that his friendship does not extend take a personal interest in the move around with their housetomb stands out by its ornateness. country. Attacks on the monarchy, to the conclusion that Babrak The headstone indicates it is that which were very strong in the Karmal was incapable of bringing understands Habré, Paris is be- idea of a Marshall plan for the of a general who had done his early years of the revolution, have about peace and winning the war lieved to have agreed to send at the same time. Meanwhile, the The monarchist solution is not Soviet army had not succeeded in include light weapons, communicawinning the war either.

In the beginning the APDP was sufficient indication of the ordeal a small party of Marxist he was suffering. Gorbachev and lowers, provide them with munimiddleclass intellectuals who were the CPSU's No 2 man, Yegor tions and help the civilian popuboth doctrinaire by reason of their Ligachev, criticised Karmal for lation hard hit by recent Libyan summer cleaning and repairing (in many cases, French) trying to apply the Markist model bomb attacks.

## Lomé dominated by Chad fighting

November 15, was dominated by the conflict in Chad where fighting has flared up again north of the 16th parallel. Paris has given its de facto approval to President Hissène Habré's attempts to reconquer the territory occupied by the Libyans and is planning an appreciable increase in the military aid it is giving N'Diamena. The French government appears to have concluded that the character of the convincing had it not been for the | change as a result of a section of believed, three shipments of arms | government. What used to be were delivered to Iran over the struggle between Chadian warlords is now turning into a war between

> LOME — Apart from Chad, severrecurring topics like southern Africu, sub-Saharan Africa's economic changes in the Chadian situation. significant as he has been keeping close watch on the situation and his remarks are always extremely

terence which ended on Saturday, ty of providing air cover for Habre's forces at this juncture something that neither Mitterrand nor Chirac at present wants. The Libyan forces present in northern Chad may after all be weaker than they appear and will have a hard time standing up to the Goukounists when they round on them. Especially as they have come far from their rear bases carrying with them a number of Libyan arms, including doubtless Sam-7 missiles. It seems that it is with such a missile that on Thursday a Libyan Marchetti plane was downed. Already more combative. these fighters should be strengthened in their new conviction by the French military nid channelled through N'Djamena.

It seems a reasonable enough culculation considering that the Libyan army's morale is said to be low. Nevertheless, it does involve a few risks for France particularly Colonel Gudafy decides to go for broke and accept the challenge convince. Congress and the press | in a Radio France Internationale instead to waiting to see what way the hostage-takers and damaging week, were underlined even more. Hissène Habré, whose power is In Tehran, the Iranian leaders the credibility of Washington's sharply by the President two days said to be growing, is doubtless in

> On the other hand, politically, nobody is taking seriously the communique published on Friday by five factions bootile to Habre in What he said in effect was that which they unnounced that the character of the Chadian con- Goukoum Quedder had been flict has changed. It is in the stripped of his authority and that process of turning from civil war the leadership had been transinto an international dispute in- ferred to Mohammed Issa, a mate volving two states. The world, he known to be working for the

> > By Jacques Amairic

said, would soon be able to see Libyons today become international."

Short of naming it, he could not in the Chadian case, which is have referred more clearly to certainly full of surprising devel-Libya. And this when, on this opments. The central figure of the same day, Hissène Habré filed a two-day conference was Hissène complaint against Libva with the Habré, who remains as discreet as United Nations Security Council. Both the President's and the and is literally possessed by his Prime Minister's nides acknow- conviction that Chad does exist ledge in private that Mitterrand's since he is in the process of analysis implies a distinct change creating it. in French policy which must now adapt itself to the new reality on the ground. Now the change in the roles were more mixed. Félix increasingly evident to French intelligence services which Habré and his allies are saying. living north of the 16th parallel

are now rallying to N'Diamena. and the figure is said to represent a good quarter of the 150.000 Chadians in the north. There is even talk of 40,000 presumed (who rebelled against N'Diamena) who are reported to have switched

and medical aid (especially field

clearly "where precisely are the But in the already long list of origins of a dispute which has Lome conferences, this one could well go down as an important one ever, to the point of remoteness.

Other figures also contributed to the conference, of course, but their Houphoust-Bolgny, patently tired and anxious to show that he was still refusing to have anything to do with Mitterrand, whom he blames for allowing (the French daily) Le Matin and (the Socialis) Party) publication L'Unité to write things about him that are usually not aired. The two men did indeed meet for about a quarter of an hour, but the Ivory Coast leader did not appear at any of the banquets and preferred to retire to Yamoussoukro on Friday afternoon, where he met Jacques Chirac the following evening. Chirac never ceased to reiterate his admiration for the "wise old

One last point whose effects it is still too early to evaluate - the countries of the south. The proposadditional assistance. This would all was made by Eyedema and taken up by Mitterrand who noted tions equipment, humanitarian that 1987 would be the 40th anniversary of the European Mar-Panishir valley he blew himself up cussed within the APDP itself says congress of the Communist Party medical units), uniforms and so on. shall Plan which did so much to with dynamite rather than surren- much for current mood in Kabul. It of the Soviet Union. The drawn All this means that France has reactivate European industry after given Habré the green light to the end of the second world war carry out a several quick strikes. The question is whether the idea Kabul in December 1979 were a | well across the 16th parallel to will go any farther than Lomé. Is it make contact with Goukouni's fol- realistic to imagine the countries of the North feeling a sense of solidarity with the countries of the South similar to the way the United States reacted towards Europe at the end of the wor?

## Chemical spill leaves Rhine in disastrous state

A fire on November 1 at the Basie chemical plant of the Swiss firm Sandoz has caused massive pollution of the Rhine. Two waves of highly poisonous substances that drained into the Phine killed tens of thousands of fish (the figure of half a million has been mentioned), especially eels, and forced several towns along the upper reaches of the river to take emergency measures to secure alternative sources of drinking water.

Sandoz has acknowledged its responsibility in the pollution and ordered all its subsidiaries to tighten safety precautions at their plants. The measure was appropriate as West German Environment Minister Walter Wallman had accused the Basie firm of breaking safety regulations. Since 1977, the firm has been "lilegally" storing chemical products on premises intended for machinery, according to Sandoz's insurers. This breach of regulations was admitted in Berne by an official of the Swiss Federal Office of Environment Protection who considered that several clauses of Swiss legislation had been infringed.

Saints' Day fire, the Sandoz plant 3-cm thick plastic bung, but it at Schweizerhalle is still a battlefield. Stacks of barrels rusted by fire and water, fire-damaged plas-tic sacks half-filled with white paste, floor reddened by dyes, and crumpled metal girders. Workmon act. "We have a retention wall precariously on shaky remnants of tened to add. "It could not hold the roof were trying to take down up in pods by huge cranes, were pumping over the other buildings cutting through girders with torch- to protect them. But it is sufficient es under the watchful eve of to hold back normal run-off." firemen who stood by ready to put out any new blaze. An acrid the Rhine in the neighbourhood of throat-grabbing stench hung over the three effluent conduits of the

Sunday," said a man who was taking regular samplings of the tons of disulfuton and thiometon to helping out. He had come water which were carefully scaled over on a bicycle. This is how in bottles for later analysis. The short term" for the Rhine's flora people move around the 40 hect- samples are sent to the central ures (98.8 acres) of the laboratory of the Zurich police Schweizerhalle Sandoz plant which is conducting the analyses which specialised in the manufac- and the inquiry into the fire. It is ture of insecticides, fungicides, still not known whether the blaze fused with the deadly herbicides and other agricultural was caused by an electrical short toxins. (The other Sandoz plant is, circuit, a chemical reaction or people in Japan in 1956, right in the centre of Basle: it arson. (Minamata) and left its traces in right in the centre of Basle: it manufactures mainly dyes and

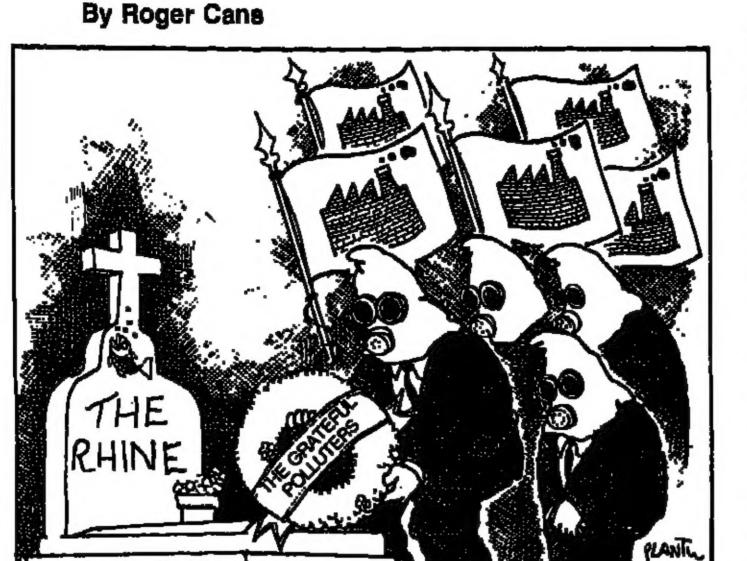
medical drugs). there was no fear that more liquids by the fire appear to have produced would drain off into the Rhine as a nothing more serious than result of untimely rain. "Friday's leakage of mercury was caused by contents of the phosphoric acid had rushed back from the United States when he heard of the fire. can be seen frolicking about be-

BASLE - Ten days after the All "We had stoppered the pipe with a popped under the pressure of the water. This time we poured in a 30-cm thick plastic plug.

So there should be no more chemical run-off flowing into the around the plant," Salzmann hasback the 25 cubic metres of water

A Basic fireboat was patrolling Sandoz plant, and mon wearing "We worked Saturday and black suits and gas masks kept

More urgent, however, is an evaluation of the danger of the The sun was shining brightly on pollution and the risk to people's this morning of November 10, so health. The chemical fumes caused irritation as a result of the sulphur a fractured pipe," explained Jean- eaters (derivatives of thiol). The Jacques Salzmann, head of Safety farms around the plant have not and Environment Protection, who been damaged. Horses continue to graze in the meadows and rabbits



Drawing by Plantu

tween the hedges. The hundreds of tons of chemicals which went up in smoke have therefore caused less damage than the few dozen tons of liquids that ran off into the Rhine. ducts washed into the Rhine are far more deadly than any insecti-

cides found on the market," noted Alfred Exinger, an organic and therapeutic chemistry export and head of the hydrological laboratory in Strasbourg University's faculty of phurmacy. He considered the be far more dangerous "in the and fauna than the mercury. The fact that fishes were killed immediately cannot be attributed to this mercury which must not be con-

far from the Rhine to be polluted. "It's a disaster," says Plobsheim tracting their contents to establish (Bas-Rhin) water bailiff Georges a reliable spectrum." Siegel. "The Rhine's water was just beginning to improve. Even sea trout were seen migrating

has just placed a six-month ban on counterparts in Strasbourg when angling in the Rhine and its direct they read the levels of their mass tributaries. "The old Rhine is not spectrometric recordings. The going to become clean overnight." commented the owner of a fishing tackle shop. He agreed that only bottom-feeding fish had been killed so for, but asked: "What'll nothing left for them to eat?"

stricter view of things. "Ninety- tion. five per cent of the effluents going

into the Rhine are highly toxic," said Walter Littke, a distinguished chemist at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau who is working with the US National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) on growing protein crystals in space. "Even Prussian blue can decompose into cyanide." He was particularly angry at the attitude of industrialists: "When make a mistake in my calculations, I warn everybody. But the people at Sandoz say nothing. They're very arrogant.

Sandoz spokesmen point out, however, that the list of products stocked in the burnt-out warehouse was supplied to the Bas-Rhin and Haut-Rhin prefects as early as November 3. "Nothing was completely burned out. It is therefore a mix of chemicals which does not allow us to make any proper simulation. We are reduced to collecting filters of gas masks and airconditioning units and ex-

was German scientists at As a matter of fact, the prefect Offenburg who tipped off their French authorities are much ton reassured by analyses of their happen to the others when there's - not been completed and the French Environment Minister is pointing The Germans are taking a out the seriousness of the pollu

(November 12)

———— 1247 metric tons of chemicals destroyed. ————

insecticides (phosphorous esters, including 323 tone of disultuton and thiometon):

harbicides (nitrophanol): 71 tonnes

fungicides (ethoxyethy) hydroxide of mercury and oxazolidine): 39 tonnes

emulaifiers: 23 tonnes

Prussian blue: 10 tonnes

When other less toxic substances are added to this list, the grand total of chemical products completely or partly destroyed in the fire comes to 1,246 tonnes.

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## India puts squeeze on Sri Lankan Tamils

were arrested on Saturday, November 8. In a police swoop through the South Indian state of Tamil Nadu. Several top guerrilla leaders were placed under house arrest the next day. Among them were two prominent heads of the biggest insurgent group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. They were named as Velupillal Prabhakaran, the leading querrilla tactician; and the group's spokesman and theoretician, Anton Balasingham.....

methylmercury that killed 230

over 10,000 others. The eels, which

live on the riverbed where the

heavy compounds descended,

might have been killed quite sim-

ply by the chemicals coming into

contact with their scale-free skins.

from the phreatic layer at a depth

varying from 15 to 80 metres,

explained Gilles Rinck,

hydrogeologist of the Geological

and Mining Research Bureau.

"and the catchment points are too

"All drinking water is drawn

FOR THE first time since 1983, Tamil Nadu, inhabited by people of the same racial group and only two hours by sea from their island. Tamil guerrilla insurgents from Sri Lanka have been given a severe warning by the Indian authorities. Their principal leaders as well as some one hundred of their followers were arrested, disarmed and put on file. The police also occupied several of their arms and munitions depots. However much the central government in ponsibility in the matter - "Law and order in the State of Tamil

responsibility of the state authorities," explained an official spokesman - it is clear that the the New Delhi government has federated government of Madras. signalled to the Tamil separatists which is a political ally of Prime that its patience is running ou Minister Rajiv Gandhi, acted with the capital's wholehearted approv- reconsider their refusal to negoti-

gone from bad to worse between Tamil separatists. them (there are roughly 120,000

offered them hospitality. Union are the exclusive guerrilla training bases.

and that they would do better to ate with Colombo. Sri Lankan The guerrilla leaders, who have President Junius R. Jayewardene since practically been put under submitted a new offer of a solution house arrest, were naturally quick at the end of June which granted a to accuse New Delhi of seeking to large measure of autonomy. "appease" the government of Co- parts of the island where the lombo, and this they argued was Tamils are in a majority, a plan likely "to encourage the Sinhalese that New Delhi considered post when they took up residence in cide of the Tamil minority." But Sri Lankan government serious they must have realised that the problems with the country's Sinoperation was facilitated by the hala majority, was formally dis fact that relations have recently missed as "inadequate" by the

The fact is, while "categorically

Since then the Indian press has Sri Lonkan Tamil refugees in been carrying a growing numbe Tamil Nadu) and the 50 million or of articles attacking the Tam so distant "cousins" who have guerrillas' attitude and hinting that Rajiv Gandhi was becoming The police swoop could also be irritated with the Sri Lankan justified on security grounds, as a Tamils' intransigence. With the top-level meeting of heads of state weekend police swoop, the Indian is due to take place on November Prime Minister hopes to make New Delhi may deny any res- 17 in Bangalore, Karnataka, the them more amenable to reason. In state next door to Tamil Nadu. Colombo, the government has no And Bangalore is only a hundred illusions; while expressing its sat-Nadu as in the other states of the kilometres from some of the Tamil isfaction with the Indian initia-

tion of solidarity with Britain against Syria and offered public thanks to the same Syria for having facilitated, with Algerian and Saudi Arabian cooperation, the release of two (French) hostages held in Lebanon. There would appear to be a contradiction here, even if things become clearer on reading (Prime Minister) Jacques Chirac's remarks carried in the Washington Times, which (former Foreign Minister) Claude Cheysson rightly saw as a finally "consistent" setting out of France's policy in the Middle East. True, this is not the only contra-

THE GUARDIAN, November 23, 1986

IN THE course of 24 hours France

set its hand to a (softish) declara-

diction in these cases. There was a contradiction between the denial with which the Prime Minister reacted to the publication of excerpts of the interview and his office's embarrassed silence when the full text was subsequently orinted.

There was a contradiction be-

tween the sharpness of the CDS's (Centre Democratique et Social one of Chirac's coalition partners; reactions to what might have been said a fortnight ago on the negotiations with Syria and its silence bluntness of some of the Prime Minister's statements in the interview he gave the Moon sect's newspaper and the extremely lowa summer - Jerusalem. So much ments" made by Paris and expressso that more inventive imaginaarrangement, the deal as they say today, that was done over the

We do not for the moment really know the terms of the deal, which is why we cannot pass definitive judgment on it. The only thing which appears to have been more or less established is that there is no direct link between the case of the hostages and the Paris bomb-

In the first case, the privileged interlocutor is Tehran, in the second. Damascus. Under the circumstances, it is difficult not to see a coincidence between the release of Sontag and Coudari and the announcement that the French and Iranian ministers were on the point of signing a partial agreement settling the dispute concerning a down-payment the Shah made in his time on the purchase of nuclear power plants, which have now been abandoned by the avatollahs. But as Syria, whose economy is in a sorry state, is now endeavouring above all to refurbish its reputation, it was agreed to show it in a good light at the moment the two hostages were

It is moreover revealing to compare what Tehran Radio, the Organisation of Revolutionary Justice and the Syrian authorities have been saying in the past 24 hours. The Syrians say they will make more hostages, while Tehran Radio tries to exploit the cracks in France's power-sharing arrangement by contrasting Jacques Chirac's realism with the policy followed previously by the

## Tamils

Continued from page 12 tive, it is insisting on the will to

work out a compromise.

At any rate, two years after taking on the Prime Ministership, Rajiv Gandhi is confirming the impression that he wants to come to grips with problems, as was illustrated by the firmness he showed in the Sikh crisis and. more recently, in his determination to inject some order in the socialist management of the econo-(November 11)

## Attacks on French deal with Syria smack of hypocrisy

By André Fontaine

Freedom's smile: Pictured under a portrait of Syria's President Assau at the Foreign Ministry in Damuscus before their flight to France are Marcel Coudari (left) and Camille Sontag, the freed hostages.

laid down" by Iran for normalising

has "met many of the conditions

elegantly. It is difficult for a

not to think that the day someone from us, he will only have to take "go back on its promises", in which muil", though it concludes it was manner with which French leaders much else.

of the top civil servants working at thinks of the machismo of so many official statements. Difficult also the Quai d'Orsay. The main difference compared with the situation that existed before the (March 16) more hostages (assuming that all sis has been deliberately put on than to cold-bloodedly abandon a the hostages have been freed by normalising relations with Teh- few named innocents. Democracies cerned. Bonn to begin with and to the hilt by announcing that they then). For who will be convinced run, and the first step towards this are indeed still nowhere near even - one sparrow doesn't make were released following "commit- that there hadn't been negotia- was taken with the expulsion from finding an effective answer to this tions of one sort or another? Le France of the franians' bete noire ing the hope that France would not Figuro speaks bluntly of "black- Musud Rajavi and his People's "indiscretion" was not deliberate, case it would be obliged "to act in a difficult for the government to do the ayatollahs want to go, and whether what is at stake, when Could it. The fact is negotiations all's said and done, is France's come from a genuine political It couldn't have been put more were already taking place when support for Iraq in the war against settlement in the Middle East. All Laurent Fabius was Prime Minist Iran Jacques Chirac, who once the more reason then for doggedly Frenchman not to feel deeply ter, so much so that the hostages played a central part in engineer- continuing to work for it. humiliated, especially when he issue took a large part of the time ing the rapprochement with Bagh-

dad, cannot obviously yield on this without going back on his word and provoking a crisis between France and the many countries in the Middle East worried by the rising tide of Shi'ite fundamental-

In any case, France is not the only country that is negotiating. The US press has been full of disclosures lately concerning the White House's covert Rambo-style horsetrading with Iran, to which it does not hesitate to deliver arms release of American hostages. What a world! Jacques Chirac was perhaps wrong to make a statement to the Moon sect's newspaper, but when he attacks the prevailing hypocrisy it is hard not to go along with him.

But the fact remains, the fundamental question has been put to French and world opinion. government, of whatever stripe, could afford to flatly refuse to negotiate over hostages only if it knew, without any doubt, that the vast majority of the public was behind it. Is this the case here? In the end, it is far easier to resist blackmail accompanied by bomb threats, because this is tantamount to taking the entire nation hostage, because it produces a laudable determination among the public as was seen in September.

Mujahidin. The question is how far lot of doing, even though it has got per-cent-effective answer would

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GW23/11/86

"AND how is Max Frisch?" When went to interview Friedrich Dorrenmatt at his home in Neuchâtel, I could not resist asking after his great friend and rival "the other" great Swiss writer. The fact that people tend to mix them they are often thought to be distinguishes one from the other. German), is a source of great literary culture will reply that

amusement to both. more than anything else, international writers: Dürrenmatt's latest Dürrenmatt's "Stoffer" appeared in novel, "Justiz", which has just French last year. It revealed come out in French, has already writer who handles his own imagibeen translated into 20 languages nary material with great care and since it first appeared in German achieves a totally new interweavlast year, and "Der Auftrag" ("The ing of reflective autobiography and Mission"), soon to be published by narrative creation — a Franz

Frisch and Dürrenmatt's works are now classics. Both writers, of course, are potential Nobel prizewinners. But the fact that they are both Swiss has probably tied the hands of the Nobel jury, which must be anxious not to offend either man.

In France they are better known the verbal sparring match being as playwrights than as novelists. But that does not stop Frisch and Durrenmatt being confused in the public mind. Every schoolboy of course knows that "The Visit" is by Durrenmatt and "The Fire-Raisers" by Frisch. But what about

## Dürrenmatt's moral tale

Try asking your friends which Those with any pretensions to Dürrenmatt is an exponent of "the Dürrenmatt and Frisch are, absurd" and Frisch a "Brechtian". That cliché took a knock when

Diogenes Verlag in Zurich, will no Kafka casting a philosophical eye detective story genre. In novels doubt be similarly treated. on his own writing. French television viewers got a

> chance to see Durrenmatt himself last year when he appeared on the highly popular book programme, Welles-like figure, he sat there observing with sardonic amusement, and at times utter disbelief. conducted on the same set by those two literary enemies, Philippe Sollers and Alain Robbe-Grillet. Dürrenmatt stole the show with meaningful silences.

By appearing on "Apostrophes" authors can boost sales by 20,000

copies. Dürrenmatt no doubt does not need help of that kind, since the success of "Justiz" will probably be guaranteed by word of mouth. In "Justiz" — the virulence of Dürrenmatt's comic effects, his was still accompanied by angst. In use of the grotesque, bring to mind "The Breakdown" the farce turns use of the grotesque, bring to mind only one other writer, Kafka.

Dürrenmett are familiar with his philosophical reworkings of the

#### By Michel Contat

man," "The Suspicion" and "The guilty? Pledge" he used the framework of a police inquiry as a stalking horse appeal, through a kind of philo- in any case. I don't read fiction, with which to tackle major themes sophical swindle, the lawyer pre- write it — which is quite enough. - or rather, to simplify matters, pares to take justice into his own one major theme: evil and life's absurdity, both of which, Dürrenmatt feels, we should not

resign ourselves to.

author remarks ironically before Alexander Solzhenitsyn's "Novem"The Breakdown", his bestgoing on to claim, in the book's ber 16", a thick volume which he
known novel in France, which third section, that he is only the had already started reading. parodies a trial conducted by some publisher of the material which "What a bore! And he gives such a makes up the first two parts, and mischief-making retired magistrates, subjected the very fabric of which was passed on to him by the and Zurich when the revolutionarthe Protestant conscience - guilt Zurich police chief. - to extremely robust treatment.

It would be unfair on the reader unreadable."

All the novels I have mentioned. which date from the '50s, have a

rather grim existentialist colour-

ing; the grotesque was already

beginning to show its face, but if

sour: the accused man, as a joke,

ends up by really hanging himself. In "Justiz", Dürrenmatt reveals

academic in a crowded restaurant.

The second section consists of the

report by the lawyer who has been

asked by the guilty man, now in

prison, to investigate one possible

hypothesis: suppose he were not

hands by killing the politician and

to give away Dürrenmatt's ending. Constructed in a series of extensions like a huge telescope point-ing at the great secret of justice, it is clearly a parable. But a parable

Of power? Of human intelligence, which strives to measure up to God by carrying out experiments, by playing with people as though they were billiard balls? Should Isaak Kohler, the murderer who is at once member of parliament, doctor honoris causa, and holder of the power of attorney for immediately who the culprit is; he a large consortium, be regarded as describes how a politician kills an a theological figure, as some God who assassinates deviously?

As soon as I made my quip about Max Frisch, I realised it would fall flat. "I don't know how he is," the 65-year-old Dürrenmatt replied. " haven't had any news of him. He didn't send me his latest book After obtaining his acquittal on 'Bluebeard'. I wouldn't have read it

On his huge desk, next to a the book he is currently working "The work of a dilettante," the on (neatly arranged in folders), sat ies were here. All fat novels are

## Aragon's immolated manuscript rises from the flames of surrealism

l'infini" has occupied in contemporary literature the kind of place the Loch Ness monster occupies in for good reason, too. One chilly Aragon destroyed the "1,500 pages recalled in his 1928 poem, Chant de la Puerta del Sol":

Alors, j'ai déchiré quatre années de ma vie mes doigts noués durs

Quatre ans les feuilles de quatre ans rameulés Pour le feu projeté les stammes

(So I tore up four years of my life,

four years, the writings of four years gathered up in my trembling hands with their fingers knotted hard destined for the fire, the flames in a moment.) Today, thanks to Edouard Ruiz's

patient labours and Aragon's own subsequent reservations, long fragments (about 200 pages) of "La Défense de l'infini" have at last been published, and we are now in the aignificance of the work that the surrealist group's dogmatism strangled at birth — probably the most wide-ranging and ambitious novelistic ocuvre of the '30s.

In his "Je n'ai jamais appris à learned to write, or the incipits frenzy in such a finery of provoca- Aragon had to give pledges to General Najib, the head of the the structure of his work: "It was a novel where you entered by as many doors as there were characters. I didn't know anything at all about the background of any of the characters; each being determined on the basis of one of those constellations of words I mentioned, by its oddity, its improbability. I mean by the improbable manner of its development . . .

"This whole slew of characters were to end up, each by the logic or illogicality of his destiny, in a sort of monstrous whorehouse where criticism or confusion would work among them, I mean the defeat of all moral values in a sort of vast

Two hundred pages of Louis Aragon's manuscript, "La Défense de l'infini", which escaped destruction at the author's hands have now been published.

When he began writing "La Défense" - probably in 1923 down upon himself the wrath and violence, at least verbal violence. cially his friend André-Breton .- ... The surrealists had uncompro-

misingly and irrevocably condemned the fictional form. And the novel was the very expression of life that they were determined to caused a kind of break between the change through revolutionary poet and the group, a split that deeds, not words.

Aragon was far too involved with the group, far too loyal to Breton -- "I came to know a man paralleled the literary split. She who wasn't like the others..." - to was the Stranger, this upper midexpress the least dissidence on this dle-class American woman who point. Even if he said nothing, or was leading Aragon by the nose rather if he voiced the same from city to city, from fashionable intransigence as his friends and just as extravagantly, Aragon was nonetheless tormented. He con-

gon cheated, perhaps unconsciously. Will we ever know when he lied more, a love story, something that multimillionaire's grand-daughter communism in Afghanistan. was doubly anathema to the surrealists. However, Aragon swad- a collection of 2,000 neckties and barrasament. Two months after dled his tale, his account, his extravagantly expensive suits. tion, outbursts, wildly exaggerated professions of allegiance to André directed against literary men.

newspapers and critics that the surrealists, spellbound by this dazzling display of verbal pyrotechnics and completely taken in by the most gifted member of their group, let him get away with it.

He took a completely different tack with "La Défense de l'infini". "I don't think people could underclosely at the dates. In 1925 (he as if he were deserting. When he other. Najib's appeal for setting up was then 28) Aragon got to know wrote "La Défense de l'infini". he la government of "national union"

Among the surrealists, who delib- overcome the contradiction of his surrealist comrades, espe- erately cultivated a misogynous stance and in their daily lives rated liaisons with women solely for their material values, the up with the money. It was the "Le whorehouse was central to an "amorous" relationship stripped of gon persisted in denying to the "Le this bourgeois, institutional and every hypocrisy. Aragon's meeting very end. It is much more than a comfortable literature which the with the Buttes-Chaumont lady, surrealists were out to blow up. It and later with the rich, free and was literature as opposed to the domineering Nancy Cunard.

By Plerre Lepape

nightclub to luxury hotel. Then there was the Communist

Party. In 1927, a few months after demned literature, yet felt himself Eluard, Aragon signed up. It was also a few months before Breton, The group kept watch, but Ara- too. But the Communist Party balked at these new memberships. These young intellectual fire-raisand when he began lying to ers scared it somewhat, and espehimself? In 1926, he published "Le cially the foppish Aragon, whose

both sides so they would accept | Afghan secret service.

"the radiant brown girl", the was betraying the group. Love and "Buttes-Chaumont lady", but we literature continued to exert a Aragon knew he would be bringing are unlikely to know whother this strong pull on him, but he was still was his first encounter with love. hoping to avoid the break, to

> He secretly let a fragment of his edition — Nancy obligingly came Con d'Irène" whose paternity Arapiece of great erotic writing: it is a dedicated it to Breton. It was "Entrée des succubes", a breathtaking demolition of Freudian methods. He kept publishing more occasional fragments until one day he tried to get his surrealist friends to accept a more substantial extract from his work. "Le

This time, he had gone too far. The reason he was not thrown out of the surrealist circle immediately was that Breton still protected him. But Aragon had to make

of a major work, we need to look where with Nancy Cunard, it was troops from Afghanistan is an-

only possible way - by getting rid of the corpus delicti. The Madrid destruction of "La Défense de l'infini" was evidently

amends for his novelistic sin in the

a way of committing symbolic suicide. A writer decides to die for literature. But before immolating himself, Aragon nevertheless did take the trouble .--- the unconscious at work here again? who can say? - to scatter randomly bits and pieces of his sacrifice all over the place. He immolated himself but without resigning himself to

A year later, on November 6 1928 Aragon met Elsa Triolet From then on he led a life where he belonged to something differ ent, another family, another kind of censorship, owing other loyalties, claiming other truths and

\* Aragon's "La Défense de l'infini" followed by "Les Aventures de Jean-Foutre la Bite", Gallimara Paris; 300 pp. F95. Cloth-bound numbered limited edition of 2,000 copies published by Editions Messidor, 312 pp. F300.

Paysan de Paris". And it was social background was hazy, who was not ready for such a graft and indeed a kind of novel, and what's lived with an American thus compromising the future of and lugged around in his baggage | Karmal had now become an emthe congress, he was replaced

him. All his life he felt the need to | The situation has reversed Breton and the doctrine, insults be accepted, to be part of a group, a Karmal, rightly considered to be life, to be seen by others. With the | the Soviets' man, is today seen Communists, this foreplay lasted almost as an opposition figure and five years. Aragon was finally has regained a degree of popularaccepted among them only in 1932 | ity in Kabul. A younger, less after he broke with Breton's group. educated man, but one who is also the forseeable future. The Communist Party's attitude more flexible than Karmal was in towards the surrealists was both 1979. Najib will carry out the. more devious and violent. Aragon | policies that the Soviets dictate. clung to the group as if it were his | Gorbachev has yet to show his family, his country. When he did hand, but he is giving tiny clues stand the first thing about me if no not turn up for the ritual daily singly. The ouster of Karmal, too dates are put on my thinking and aperitif with Breton, it was as if he closely indentified with the interwriting," he wrote. To explain the had slept out. When he went on vention itself, is one. The withprocess that led to the destruction trips to Britain, Spain or else- drawal in October of 8,000 Soviet

possibly including opponents who agree to lay down their arms, is a

Gorbachev appears to be looking for a "political" solution in Afghanistan. And for this, anything goes, including — and why not? — the return of the former king, if he agrees to a figurehead role, or simply wants to live out the last years of his life in his own country But the Soviet army, which has built permanent barracks in the northern part of the country, will withdraw only when the regular Afghan army is in a position to replace it. This is not the case today, and is unlikely to be so in (November 16)

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sodes in which the president's World copyright by 

◆ Le Monde, Paris

# The Washington Wost

OPEC'S recent behavior is becoming less mysterious. The explanations | MOSLEM extremists still holding allude only to the Kuwaiti prison- repeat, did not - trade weapons or are beginning to fall into place. It will be interesting to learn at what at least two American hostages in ers. They could also include the anything else for hostages - nor point Saudi Arabia realized that the United States was sending arms to Lebanon called on "the American clandestine arms pipeline started will we. Those who think we have Iran. But even without much light there, it's possible to start putting government" at the weekend to by Reagan, the longstanding 'gone soft' on terrorism should take together - at least tentatively - an account of what's been happening in | "take a bigger role and wider steps Iranian demands that the United OPEC. To measure the purely economic cost of President Reagan's to meet our demands and resolve States ship the arms paid for by

turnaround on Iran, keep your eye on the price of oil.

The basic split in OPEC for the past 15 years has been between the Jihad organization, in a typewrit- and kept in the U.S. and the radicals who want the highest possible price and the conservatives who ten statement sent to American want a lower price and stable markets. Iran and Libya have consistently | news agencies in Beirut, said that \$500 million in Iranian funds. been the leaders among the radicals. Saudi Arabia speaks for the the Nov. 2 release of hostage David conservatives. That tension has been sharpened by the Iran-Iraq war, for the Saudis have been providing indispensable financial support to Iraq.

Late in the summer of 1985, when prices were high, the Saudis' exports

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Late in the summer of 1985, when prices were high, the Saudis' exports

were falling to levels that they considered intolerably low. They reversed issue". The organization warned, had secretly authorized shipments their strategy, pushing up production and letting prices fall - as they did, very rapidly, last winter and spring. It was good luck for the industrial countries, where inflation rates dropped reassuringly. But it was disastrous for many oil producers from Texas to Tehran.

Texas couldn't do anything about it, but Tehran did. In the war with demands are met. We shall not of military equipment to Iran. Iraq, the Iranians achieved unexpected success early this year. Under the ayatollahs, Iran seemed to be reasserting its former position as the region's dominant military research flow would the United States react? In way, it now develops, the president sent his former national security adviser to Tehran in a plane loaded with military equipment. In July of the 1983 bombing of the U.S. the Iranians "to use their influthere were further shipments.

At OPEC's meeting in August, with the price of oil below \$10 a barrel, country. At least one and possibly The National Security Adviser, the Saudis began moving to compromise with Iran and cut production. That's why the price has now risen several dollars. At the end of OPEC's long and quarrelsome meeting last month, the Saudi king fired his oil of members of the Islamic Jihad that the Reagon initiative might minister, Sheik Ahmed Zaki Yamani, a special target of the Iranian radicals. Kuwait, which was pressing hard for a higher production quota | the 39-year-old chief Middle East | well be . . . the revelation of the in October, now says that it too is in favor of higher prices.

the Saudis and most of their neighbors were moving to propitiate Iran. | the acting dean of agriculture at signs that that may happen." Mr. Reagan's speech last week will be read in the Persian Gulf as an the American University of Berrut. authoritative declaration that the United States wants an accommodation with Iran, Until last summer, Saudi Arabia was the dominant force in OPEC, but that seems to be changing. OPEC meets again next | Reagan administration has said TWA hijacking, the refusal of month, and now it's the conservatives who are talking about production cuts to push oil prices back into the range of \$18 to \$20 a harrel-half again as high as the present price. Mr. Reagan's overtures to Iran are not going to be inexpensive.

WASHINGTON — As President

Reagan was returning here from

Los Angeles Nov. 4 on Air Force

One, his national security adviser,

Vice Adm. John M. Poindexter,

wrote a statement in longhand

responding to questions about a

Lebanese magazine report that the

United States had sent weapons to

"As long as Iran advocates the

use of terrorism, the U.S. arms

Poindexter wrote. "Moreover, the

U.S. position on the Iran-Iraq war

remains that the fighting should

stop and the two sides should reach

a negotiated settlement of their

dispute. We favor an outcome

where there are no winners or

Presidential spokesman Larry

Speakes then read the statement

to reporters on the plane, adding

that there had been "no manifesta-

tion of a definitive change in Iran's

statement was literally correct.

but it was less than the full story.

authorized the shipment of weap-

ons to Iran as part of a yearlong

covert operation aimed in part at

freeing American hostages in

The disclosure of the weapons

deliveries at a time when the

United States was publicly seeking

to stanch the flow of arms to Iran

marked the latest in a series of

embarrassing foreign policy epi-

credibility has been severely test-

ed. Moreover, when challenged,

the White House has frequently

full story of Reagan's actions.

responded by refusing to tell the

In the last six months, Reagan

Poindexter's carefully worded

embargo will continue,"

They No Longer Believe Him

By David Hoffman

TO TOWN

Admiral Poindexter

explain why he deviated from his

has repeatedly been forced

guan rebels.

## Oil And Iran's Price | Hostage-Takers Renew Demands

well that we shall not resolve the issue of the hostages unless our budge a fraction of a fingertin on Rangan and the shipments were

and French embassies in that ence" in the hostage release. group holding Terry A. Anderson, still prove successful, "It may very correspondent for The Associated project may expedite the whole Even before the American overtures to Iran became public knowledge. | Press, and Thomas Sutherland, 55. process a little bit and there are

The Kuwaitis have vowed never good faith by unidentified Iranians to release their prisoners and the in the aftermath of the June 1985 that it will not bring pressure on Tehran to provide landing rights Kuwait to do so, it was not clear for the Pan Am jet hijacked in from the statement issued Satur- Karachi, Pakistan, in September. day if the "wider steps" called for and to "empirical evidence" that

nations last summer of his decision

to no longer abide by the limits of

the unratified SALT II treaty.

Later came Reagan's reversal on a

deal for the release of American

reporter Nicholas Daniloff; his

approval of a "disinformation"

campaign against Libya'

Moammar Gadhafi; his confused

account of the final talks with

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev

at Reykjavik; the questions about

whether his aides violated a con-

gressional ban on aid to the

Nicaraguan rebels; and now, the

and Republicans said they repre-

sent a new and troubling challenge

to Reagan's standing that, if al-

lowed to fester, could become a

serious handicap in his final two

Reagan has suffered in recent

years from miscalculation, as in

Lebanon, and from prolonged in-

behind him during crises. When-

But the Iran operation may have

Although each of these problems

secret Iran operation.

years in office.

'statements were at odds with his ternal disagreement, 'es in the

private actions, why he appears to impasse over arms control. But

have undercut his Cabinet mem- until now, his credibility as a

bers and why key leaders in leader was largely untarnished,

gress, according to senior presiden- Beirut, which killed 241

of the Senate in January, are his own terms.

The events that have raised

questions about Reagan's credibil-

ity began with contradictory expla-

Congress, in the military and and one of his great strengths was

tial advisers and influential servicemen, Reagan put this credi-

Republicans on Capitol Hill. bility to its highest and best use -

Democrats, who will take control he gave a speech to explain it on

certain to conduct investigations "Our problem has never been

in the next few months on Iran. as that people didn't believe him."

well as Reagan's arms control said a high-ranking White House

policies and the conduct of U.S. official. "Sometimes, our problem

officials in supporting the Nicara- was that people elieved him too

They are demanding that an 18-month-old effort to improve three of those boing held in Adm. John Poindexter, last week Kuwait are believed to be relatives struck a note of cautious optimism

> Poindexter also talked about or encouraging anybody in taking hostages" for about a year. But

White House chief of staff Donald Γ. Regan took a more pessimistic view, saying he did not think "this avenue" could be pursued again "for quite some time to come" In his address President Reagan said that the United States had not paid "ransom" to Iran for the but has covertly sent arms to

up the question with Colonel

## Post Reporters

meant as a sign of "good faith" in

Office, Reagan said: "We did not - en that we can't trust you."

Claiming that the Iran operation was begun 18 months ago "for the best of reasons," Reagan acknow-ledged that U.S. officials had talked with unidentified factions in Iran about pressuring other groups in Lebanon to release the American hostages. But he denied that the arms sent to Iran were a "ransom payment".

Reagan discussed only the broadest details of the Iran operation. He did not mention strong objections that were raised to the shipments of arms by Secretary of State George Shultz and Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger He also omitted mention o Israel's role in establishing contacts inside Iran and shipping the of the arms shipments was linked to release of the hostages, as other

Instead, Reagan said that the arms shipped were "small amounts" and "modest deliveries" that "could easily fit into a single cargo plane" He said the weapons were "defensive" in nature.

officials have reported.

In Tunis, the Arab League called Reagan's statement a "new and dangerous" element in relations between the Arab world and the United States Secretary Genera Chedli Klibi said the arms deliveries to Tehran were a "flagrant violation" of Washington's professed neutrality. "Reagan hus declared an umbrella of protection for the Gulf and at the same time he's giving arms to the Iranian army threatening this area," said Mahmoud Riad, former Egyptian foreign minister.

Prince Bandar bin Sultan, the Saudi ambassador to Washington, complained to Admiral Poindexter, Tehran to gain "access and influ- the president's national security ence" there, end the 6-year-old advisor about the "lack of candor" Iran-Iraq war, and stem interna- in the U.S.-Saudi relationship tional terrorism. In a nationally Poindexter replied "Trust us. trust televised address from the Oval us." Bandar: "You've already prov-

## Reagan Gagged CIA's Casey

By Bob Woodward

WASHINGTON -- President Reagan in mid-January ordered CIA Director William J.Casey in writing not to inform the congressional intelligence committees of a covert action involving the shipment of arms to Iran and the release of American hostages in Lebanon, informed sources said last week. Senior administration officials said the president has full legal authority to begin sensitive covert operations without giving prior notice to Congress, although several key Republican and Democratic members of Congress sharply disagreed,

After the 1984 controversy over the CIA's mining of Nicaraguan harbors, Casey pledged in writing to inform the Schate and House intelligence committees within 48 hours of any intelligence activities or among U.S. allies were not con- his ability to rally Americans | covert actions approved by the president, but "Casey's hands are clean on this one," one source said. Since the revelations of intelligence abuses in The result could be months of ever a policy fell apart, such as in the mid-1970s, Congress has virtually guaranteed the public that there confrontation ahead with Con- the Marine barracks bombing in | will be thorough oversight of intelligence operations.

> The president's national security adviser. Vice Admiral John Poindexter, defended the decision to keep the covert operation from Congress because of the extreme sensitivity of contacts with Iran and the potential danger to American hostages. In a luncheon meeting with reporters and editors at The Washington Post, Poindexter said he kept the one-page presidential intelligence order, called a "finding," in his White House House office safe, and that its existence and contents were known only to a handful of administration officials.

The Senate Intelligence committee was informed last week of the presidential finding, but two senators on the committee said the 10month delay was totally unacceptable and subverted the spirit of congressional oversight of intelligence operations. "How many more seriously damaged that. An ABC 'findings' of secret operations are there in Poindexter's safe?" asked one Continued on page 16 Republican senator.

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## The Washington Post

## Hasenfus Gets 30 Years Continued from page 18 News poll showed that Americans overwhelmingly did not believe

THE US mergenary, Eugene Hasenfus, was sentenced to 30 years in gaol on Saturday for delivering guns to counter revolutionaries in Nicaragua. The former Marine remained stonefaced as the 11-page verdict was read in Spanish and English. The US Government immedistely denounced the guilty verdict as a predictable propaganda move.

The three-judge panel on the People's Anti-Somocista Tribunal in Managua convicted Hasenfus after a 26-day trial for terrorism, conspiracy, and threatening Nicaraguan securi-

Hasenfus baled out of a burning cargo plane on October after it was hit by a Sandinista anti-aircraft missile. He was captured the next day and the

plane was found to be carrying arms destined for the USbacked contras. Two US pilots and a Nicaraguan radio operator were killed.

noeuvres had increased.

The Justice Minister, Mr Rodrigo Reyes, who was chief prosecutor in the trial, said he doubted that a pardon would be granted. He said more than 16,000 Nicaraguans have died in a war alded by US-supplied arms. "What would we get out of a pardon?" Mr Reyes said. contras, I would say give them anyone they want, but that's not going to happen." Since Hosenfus was captured the US Congress had given final apcontras and US military ma-

## Verdict — And Costs

THE EXPECTED guilty verdict has been handed down in Nicaragua's trial of Eugene Hasenfus, lone survivor of the American plane filled with guns for the contras that the Sandinistas shot down on Oct. 5. Mr. Hosenfus, a former CIA pilot in Indochina, took risks for money in an operation directed by two Cuban-Americans working, he said, for the CLA. The Sandinistas presented him as a factor in an extended CIA operation running guns out of El Salvador. He became a windfall exhibit in a propaganda campaign they had already begun against the new \$100 million American program to support the contra cause.

The Reagan administration disclaims any official connection to the downed aircraft or to a gun-running operation that estensibly private American citizens conducted to keep the contras going during the two years when official American aid was barred by law. One result of this stance is to prevent the United States from expressing any but a disinterested humanitarian interest in Mr. Hasenfus now. It is possible that the Nicaraguan authorities, after squeezing what political advantage they can from his conviction, will figure they can squeeze a bit more from an early pardon.

The Sandinistas, after all, have made their several points. One is that El Salvador has been allowing Americans to run supplies to the Nicaraguan resistance. This spoils El Salvador's previous image as an unoffending victim of Nicaraguan intervention; it now emerges also as a contributor to an answering intervention of its own. The Salvadoran president did not seem to know his military was sanctioning the flights which now apparently have ended. Coming just as the \$100 million was released, this is a major blow to the contras.

The Hasenfus affair has also provided heavy ammunition to Americans opposing contra aid. It is not simply that the Reagan administration's depiction of the supply operation as strictly private keeps wearing thinner. A whole pattern of National Security Council short-circuiting is now coming into public view. The effect is to emphasize the dubious and shady aspects of American involvement in Nicaragua over the highminded anti-Sandinista aspects that the administration prefers to underline. All this happens, moreover, as a newly Democratic Senate prepares to draw a bead on contra aid. The costs of the Hasenfus affair, it is evident, will not be borne by the defendant alone

## Problems For Mrs Aquino

CORAZON AQUINO, president of the Philippines, is safely back from Japan after a trip that prompted heavy worries about whether a coup might take place while she was gone. Her trials, however, go on. They center in a sense on Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile. He abandoned his longtime patron, Ferdinand Marcos, last winter and helped deliver the united military support that made her triumph by "people power" possible and peaceful. But he then turned bitter critic, directing special attention to Mrs. Aquino's approach to the Philippines' communist insurgency. He also has seemed unashainedly ambitious to supplant her in power. Partly as a result, President Aquino's leadership has come under scrutiny, in this country as at home, and doubt is being expressed about the future of domocracy in a place where its return was hailed a triumph for American policy.

Some of Mrs. Aquino's troubles arise from a tendency for people wonder whether the qualities of innocence and moral worthiness that helped her undo the old regime are useful now for bringing civil peace and political and economic renewal. At the same time, she has sometimes seemed to hesitate at making hard choices. This is the context in which alarming reports of a military plot against the Aquino government began circulating. The president, heading off on her trip to Japan, actually felt it necessary to caution against a coup. Chief of Staff Gen. Fidel Ramos, a respected professional soldier who has emphasized his subordination to signed to convince him that he was civilian authority, issued a stiff public warning to any "military

adventurists" considering "rash" action. Mrs. Aquino returned to Manila, still the president, having to face a crisis ignited by the murder of a leading unionist and politician of the | written by Poindexter, called for a left. Nowhere is she under harsher pressure, however, than in respect to campaign of "disinformation" the strong and long-running insurgency of the communist New People's | against the Libyan leader. After Army. Minister Enrile's complaints that she is not tough enough on the Reagan's approval, false informaguerrillas have gained a wide audience. Currently Mrs. Aquino is tion generated by the plan apengaged in a sensitive cease-fire negotiation with the rebels. They ask | peared in The Wall Street Journal her to grant legitimacy and even to cede some territorial control. But she is the legitimate leader, and Philippine democracy now offers the only legitimate political process. She is right to offer reconciliation with the new, imperfect but improvable democratic order, but she must expect and

antage leveller to it he all of her country's citizens.

## They No Longer Believe Him

Reagan's explanation of the Iran arms shipments. "We've taken a direct hit," said another White

months of probing by Congress that could undermine Reagan's agenda for the next two years. The administration "is going to have a hell of a problem with liberals on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee," a Republican congression-al aide said. "The Democrats are blazing. They are going to have a series of 'show trials' of Reagan

This approach was foreshadowed Saturday when Sen. Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt., vice chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, said, "We know what the White House wanted to do, but it seems they didn't know how to do it . . A policy of not making deals with be painfully put together again. Our aimes must be reassured that we will not say one thing publicly and do the

the Iran operation, White House officials said the damage to bated when he was effectively deserted by his Cabinet members. including Secretary of State Shultz and Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger, both of whom had privately objected to the arms shipments to Iran. When they were overruled, however, both kept their concerns

Shultz also continued to urge other nations to honor the U.S. arms embargo against Iran. Nine months after Reagan signed secret directive that sanctioned an Oct. 2 speech to the Gulf Cooperative Council, criticized the The Soviets, he said, "have not acted as forcefully as we in moving to block arms resupplied to Iran from countries with which they have influence. We wish they

Many of the White House and Republican officials expressed dismay at what they described as inadequate and incoherent explathe last six months. For example, after the May 27 announcement that the United States would no longer abide by SALT II limits, news conference, left the impression that he might return to the treaty limits. The next day, the treaty "no longer exists."

When U.S. News & World Report correspondent Nicholas Danioff was arrested in Moscow. Reagan angrily insisted Sept. "there will be no trade" of Dailoff Another challenge to Reagan's

credibility came with the disclosure of a secret campaign of deception against Gadhafi deabout to be attacked again by U.S. bombers and perhaps ousted in a coup. The plan, outlined in a memo and other American newspapers,

including The Washington Post. Yet another embarrassing challange to Reagan's believability came after the Reykjavik summit.



in his talks with Gorbachev. But the Soviets said he had endorsed a

that an arms reduction agreement was close at hand; in a littleelection, he was far more pessimispublic relations campaign" than in

unanswered many questions about its role in aiding the Nicaraguan Reagan may also have been influrebels during the period that Con- enced to accept the secret Iran gress banned such help. Questioned last week about the reasons give the United States an advanfor these controversies, Poindexter said it was because Reagan "is interested in changing the status full-scale attempt to put the bes quo" and so "there are going to be face on the Iran operation las

In many cases, the gap between weapons was "minuscule," that the Reagan's policies and his statements reflects deeper divisions in the Iranians who received wesp the administration. For example, one, that the weapons were al Soviet spy Zakharov was arrested as part of an effort by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Cencepted the equivalent of such a trai Intelligence Agency to crack. But some top officials inter-trade in which a Soviet dissident, down on Soviet espionage in the viewed after Reagan's address down on Soviet espionage in the viewed after Reagan's address United States — a move that Thursday on Iran privately exsubsequently collided with efforts pressed concern that he had aggraby other policy-makers to acceler- vated his credibility problem

ate arms control negotiations. But other contradictions underscore what aides say is an abiding and then offering strained, incom-Reagan characteristic — to believe one thing in the abstract and explanations. "We made it sound another in practice. In the case of like we sent them five firecrackers Iran, for example, the president in a paper bag," said one official gave many speeches denouncing Another high-ranking official terrorism; he described Iran in international version of Murder

In practice, Reagan responded emotionally to appeals for action from families of the Americans held hostage in Lebanon. Informed sources said the Iran operation had "That's worsel"

hostages was what Reagan found Before the operation was re-

vealed, one source said, almost all the talk about it centered on an effort to persuade factions in Iran After the summit, Reagan cam- to use their influence to free the paigned vigorously on the theme six remaining captives. White House chief of staff Donald 7 Regan said much the same thing noticed statement issued after the last week: "The president is a man of compassion. He's sitting there tic, accusing the Soviets of being you have Peggy Say (sister o "more interested in conducting a hostage Terry A. Anderson), you have all the families saying Please, you've got to do some-

> operation on grounds that it would tage over the Soviets in the region White House officials mounted

week, saying that the amount o larger strategic goals of improving

first saying nothing about the operation for more than a week plete and sometimes conflictin said the negative views shared by

July 1985 as part of a "a new most Americans about Iran were formed during the captivity of American diplomats in 1979-80 and remain. "Our defense was the we're not really trying to trade arms for hostages, but build a relationship with Iran," he said.

Rumor, Speculation, And Inference

THE Soviet Union employs a variety of methods in attempting to influence political events in foreign countries. Among these methods are propaganda, forgeries, dis-information, agents of influence (an individual under Soviet control who seeks to influence governmental policy to Soviet advantage), paramilitary operations and even, on occasions, assassination. Collectively, these tactics are known as active measures. In 1979 the CIA estimated that the Soviet expenditure on active measures

THE SECRET OFFENSIVE, By Chap-

man Pincher (St. Martin's. 314pp,

came to almost \$3.5 billion a year. Unfortunately, most previous full-length studies of Soviet active measures have been somewhat hysterical in tone. They depict a rampaging Soviet bear planning to devour the West after tricking it — via the use of active measures and deceitful diplomacy into letting its guard down. Further, those who oppose significant portions of the U.S. nuclear buildup are considered to be, at best, unwittingly aiding the Soviet cause. The Secret Offensive by British journalist Chapman Pincher is no exception. According to Pincher, "Active measures have the prime purpose of sapping and destroying the Western will to resist the expansion of the Soviet Union's influence and territorial

In the book's 19 chapters Pincher examines a variety of cases where he claims or

ability to resist the communist onslaught. Pincher suggests Soviet involvement in the 1962 West German Der Spiegel affair, which led to the ousting of Defense Minister Franz Josef Strauss, whom Pincher considers to be a formidable anti-communist. Pincher sees the use of Soviet active measures in perpetrating a Great Missile Deception on the U.S., resulting in Soviet strategic superiority. Pincher also strongly suggests a Soviet role in the assassination of President Kennedy

Pincher repeats some well-known and accepted accounts of Soviet active measures operations. Included are a variety of forgeries — such as a fake Army field manual suggesting U.S. interference in the internal affairs of its allies and a fake presidential memorandum calling for domestic covert operations against black groups — as well as the story of French journalist and Soviet agent of influence Charles Pierre Pathé. In many cases the material in The Secret

Offensive is a collection of rumor, speculation and Pincher's own inference. His chapter on the Great Missile Deception alleges a Soviet campaign that originated in 1959 with the intent of lulling the U.S. into a false sense of security by making it appear that the West had a substantial lead in missile technology which the U.S.S.R. was unlikely to overtake. In order to accomplish this deception, the Soviets allegedly transmitted false information through a Soviet military officer working for the CIA and played a role in weakening the West's information about, and through false defec- ment - given that Saudi Arabia is one of Community."

tors-in-place at the Soviet Mission to th

The specifics of most of Pincher's charges are far from being accepted by experts in the field. The Soviet officer - Oleg Penkovsky - is considered to be the most valuable person ever recruited by the CIA. But his charge concerning the feeding of false information to U.S. satellites is based on an unquestioning acceptance of claims made by a few fringe individuals. Pincher is apparently unaware that a 1981 government panel on the question concluded that the U.S. had not been deceived.

Even less substantiated are his charges that the KGB appeared to be involved in the assassination of John F. Kennedy. Pincher's sole evidence is the fact that Kennedy's alleged assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald, had defected to Russia, been subsequently allowed to return to the U.S., and had been stationed at a U.S. airbase in Japan from which U-2s had flown. Pincher argues that Oswald must have been interrogated by the KGB. In Pincher's view Oswald's murdor by Jack Ruby suggests KGB involvement.

More interesting is the amount of space that Pincher devotes to the political activities and media which he considers too willing to support the Soviet point of view or oppose the U.S. or British establishments. program in which interviews with black privates are used to suggest racism in the British army. He is appalled at the

By Jeffrey Richelson

Britain's biggest overseas customers. Pincher's wrath is also directed at those in television who repeatedly showed President Gerald Ford's falls and slips — which Pincher suggests was intended to portray Ford as unfit to be in charge of nuclear weapons. One must commend Pincher's restraint in not suggesting that Chevy Chase was a Soviet agent of influence when appearing on Saturday Night Live.

The most disreputable portions of the book occur when Pincher resorts to his there-is-no-evidence-that-X-is-a-Sovietagent-but-his-activities-serve-Moscow quite-well technique. Pincher uses this technique to smear a respected British investigative journalist as well as the entire generation of European scientists who emigrated to the United States in the 1930s and '40s.

Pincher is unwilling or unable to separate proven fact from speculation, dissent from treason and disclosures from espionage. He even suggests that it would be beneficial if the British security service were able to screen candidates for all senior posts in British television companies to insure security and accuracy. It is strange then that Pincher is so concerned about the Soviet Union devouring his nutive Britain and the rest of the Western world. If it did it would set up exactly the type of society that Pincher seems most comfortable with.

Jeffrey Richelson, associate professor of British intelligence, through a signals willingness of a British TV network to show government at The American University, is implies that Soviet active measures have—intelligence satellite the KGB had obtained—a docudrama hostile to the Saudi govern-—the author of "The U.S. Intelligence

## News As A Weapon

By Joseph Laitin

the past month. Everybody seems to have forgotten that the Soviets take on a kind of respectability in weapon to destroy the enemy by confusing them. In an open society such as ours, even in an all-out war. there is danger of confusing your

friends more than your enemies. In World War II, all nations used disinformation, or black propaganda, as it was called then. In Washington, with the United Press, I sensed that my competition, the Associated Press's Sterling Green, was on to a big story. He scored with an on The Washington Post, The Washington Star and The New York

It said that Gen. Dwight European Forces in London, had been ordered to return to Washington the following week for consultations with the high command to discuss details of a second front. President Roosevelt on the following day exceriated the speculation. A few days later, on Nov. 8, 1942, U.S. troops, led by Gen. probably was this country's first venture into deliberately planting false information in the U.S. news media: There-is-no-way-of knowing whether it was of any military value.

That was a one-shot. But a continuing disinformation backfired. It was billed as a "mobile underground radio station" operating inside Nazi Germany and proadcasting daily defiance to Hitler. Monitored by an Allied listening post, the translated texts were distributed to U.S. newspapers and received considerable attention. The Gostapo wasn't fooled; but the program did give false hope to American familles who were led to colleve that the Hitler regime might

be on the verge of collapse. One of the most secret U.S. black propaganda programs, however, was effective, and Americans weren't aware of it until decades after the war. It was the brainchild of an The Washington Post.)

newspaperman, Under Mr. Warner's supervision at a secret Allied precursor of the CIA - was turning to be an underground anti-Hitler newspaper published and distributed

Under tight security, it printed on cheap paper that might be available to a subversive group, with one seemingly insurmountable problem in this project, which any newspaper publisher could have alerted Mr. Warner to: home

Mr. Warner came up with a of the large German cities were collected, and mailing lists were were counterfeited; German-type mail pouches were duplicated to the last stitch. Envelopes were printed with return addresses of German business establishments likely to make large mailings to private

them went "The New Germany"; the sacks. Railway timetables were studied, and every day fighterrailroad train heading toward a specific German city.

element swooped down and loosed cars. After them came B-25s at program that this country's treetop level, machine guns blazing intelligence people promoted over a away to keep surviving heads down, long period during that war and from their bomb bays camo hundreds of mail sacks, strewn among the wreckage. Unfailingly, rescue crews, with

German efficiency, gathered up the scattered mail and turned it over to the post office. Mr. Warner won a bronze star and

a presidential citation. More important to him was learning later that advancing Allied troops reported that Gormans were surrendering with copies of this newspaper to show that they were anti-Nazia. That was disinformation's finest hour. And I'd like to think its only one.

(Joseph Laitin is ombudemen of

## Philip Geyelin

LOOK! Up in the sky! It's a gas nask! It's a radar screen! It's an insurance policy! It's SUPER-

Whatever else may be said of Ronald Reagan's bootless campaign to save the Senate for the Republicans, his efforts to make a winning issue of the Strategic Defense Initiative (u.k.n. "Star Wars") cannot be faulted for lack of creative imagery. That SDI was in the elections is beside the point What matters is the collateral damage that the President was doing to public comprehension of a vital national security issue.

You have to credit the President for making his case. The polls his refusal to bargain away any part of his "Star Wars" dream at Reykjavik, What the pollsters' samplings do not show, however, is what on earth (never mind outer space) the Republican faithful had in mind when they greeted the President chanting "S . . . D .

thing shield against nuclear weapons that will rid the world for ever of the threat of nuclear war? And vhy not, when one scarcely knows how to begin to deal with the President's out-of-this-world flim-

In Grand Forks, North Dakota, development of radar before World giving up radar, as well as Czecho- said. "We can either bet on Ameri- why that can't be done." aside the fact that radar was not on Soviet promises. I'll bet on on the bargaining table at Munich. American technology any day." t was a reality. That's not something that can be said today of dont has said since he launched

At another point, the President 23, 1983, has been the promise of said he had told Gorbachev that perfection. Yet Lt. Gen. Daniel O. SDI was like "keeping our gas Graham (ret.), who heads a "Coalimasks, even though the nations of tion for the Strategic Defense the world had outlawed poison gas Initiative," concedes that "any after World War I." Presumably he strategic defense deployment will did not remind Gorbachev that the start with a partial and porous great powers went right on manu- defense no matter how much total facturing and stockpiling chemical protection it eventually will proweapons, that huge supplies are in vide." the hands of NATO forces as well as those of the Warsaw Pact, and Abrahamson, director of the SDI that gas masks are by no means a project, told a House of Approprifoolproof defense against the use of ations Committee that, "Nowhere lies.

## Disinformation At The Top

WHY DO WE CALL THIS A WHOLE LIFE POLICY? BECAUSE IT MIGHT TAKE YOUR WHOLE LIFE BEFORE WE KNOW IF IT WORKS

have we stated that the goal of the In Colorado Springs, he told a SDI is to come up with a leak-proof political rally that, "If and when defense." George Kenworth, sciwe have developed (SDI) ... we ence advisor to the President. will then appeal to the Soviet insisted in 1984 that, "The SDI has Union to join us in eliminating all never promised the strategic and intermediate- perfection and the President would range nuclear missiles and then never propose such a bold step if we will share SDI with them so only perfection would suffice." that we can both go down through the years without having to be

Now that suggests a pretty high

level of trust. But the President

also offered quite a different con-

policy" against Soviet cheating.

his country's safety," the President

Explicit, in everything the Presi-

SDI in a famous speech on March

Abrahamson and James have apparently not talked to Secretary of Defense Weinberger, who told "Meet the Press" in March, 1983: "The defensive systems that the President is talking about are not designed to be partial. What we want to try to get is a system which will develop a defense that rely solely on a piece of paper for is thoroughly reliable and total . . . and I don't see any reason

Neither, obviously, does Ronald Roagan. But the fact is that nobody can tell you now what a nuclear defense system will ever amount to, or how much it will cost, or whether the Soviets could devise techniques for outwitting it.

Finding the right answers is going to be an extraordinarily difficult job, requiring serious, informed debate. That process is endangered when the President takes the occasion of a congres-'sional election campaign to conduct a program of disinformation Two years ago, Lt. Gen. James that makes the notorious number done on Libya's Colonel Gadhaff last summer look like little white

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## Red light for danger

EVEN in these days of glasnost where hey can bribe the manag- ture in a Moscow hotel suddenly (openness) in the Soviet press, ers into turning a blind eye to appeared in the post of his conair crashes and ship collisions

official newspaper of the Young Communist League, and its long story headlined, "A lady for a tip" raised many an eyebrow. Set in the Byelorussian capital of Minsk, it recounted the stories of Svetlana, who sold her favours to the foreigners in the local Intourist hotel, brothel in a nearby apartment.

By Martin Walker in Moscow

prostitution, there was little social pressure that could be brought. "Evidently there is no sense in

agonising over the social reasons for this phenomenon," they had written. "It is not poverty that makes these girls chase after their dubious clients. The majority of they are amateur whores. these 'business women' have a reasonably good education, some are fluent in foreign languages. Each one of them could be working 25 rouble note changes hands. for the good of society."

In the old days, they would try to clothes brought in by their remain anonymous, and when regulars, or bought in the hard caught would promise never to do currency stores. Many of them are it again. But with the passing of stunningly attractive. Their hard time, this coyness has gone. They sell and aggressive approach feel quite invulnerable, because makes a quiet drink in these bars they are breaking no laws. They almost impossible. Prices, I am exchange nods with the hotel doormen and greet the policemen in a friendly manner. In the hotel. the bar, and the restaurant, they knows them. There is simply no recording rights. Only a fool would

vene, there are two laws they can use against the girls. The first is the law against being a social parasite, or against being unemployed. So the girls make sure they have a daytime sinecure, whether as a student or in a factory or shop photographs of his amorous adven-

Make less room for

poverty — and more

Start at the sharp end and try to opens up paths towards peace:

do something to help; this is the supporting positive local actions;

way that Quakers have always enabling diplomats and politicians

sought to tackle problems. If you to voice their mutual doubts and

can't do something grand, you can fears away from the public eye;

to improve the quality of food, maintained. The world becomes

poverty, there's more room for Please add your help to make

life Itself. Without the stress of work becomes more vital.

room for justice

The second is the law against dealing in foreign currency. The girls Komsomolskya Pravda is girls Komsomolskya Pravda is former Newsweek correspondent worried about are those who go here, was suddenly informed by hock.

with foreigners, and get their pay the foreign ministry that the MosKomsomolskaya Pravda is the in dollars, finnmarks and pounds. cow VD clinic had been given his Prostitution among Russians, which is widespread and visible in the big naval cities like Murmansk and Odessa, and around the hostels where Moscow's migrant workers live, has yet to emerge in the press as a social problem.

The odd thing about the article checked there, and sent the papers Hollow, all are exactly as they are was why it chose to focus on proving his innocence, or at least now. was why it chose to focus on

example, for Western women to try

to go alone into the big hotels for

foreigners. Unless they show a

hotel residency card or a passport,

they are liable to be turned away

by the doorman, who will assume

The professionals are recognised

and admitted, although I have on

occasion seen the purple flash as a

They dress well, in Western

told, range from \$50 to \$100, and

more for twosomes and special

his non-infection, back to Moscow.

A COUNTRY DIARY

The problem is that the price know everyone and everyone does not include the film and WIMBLEDON COMMON: Sparrows are frequently overlooked. I mentary career collapsed when marked coats. They have the rich chestnut which glows from the the female hold the fawn of the transformed the downland scene. dying grasses which provide the at least temporarily. During the ays. The combination of the more home-produced food required

the lime trees that still retain some leaves. The changing colours are pegged down by stands of glossy holly bushes and Scots and Corsican pine trees. The heather has burnt itself out into a soft brown. Yarrow and Pineappleweed are still showing bedraggled flowers. The birds were quietly keeping together, Flocks of chaffinehes and tits flittered in the trees whilst The jays were conducting one of their mysterious unsettling convo-

searchings of the ground, Acorns appeared to be their chief booty. In the garden I have had to saw down a 23 foot silver birch. Six years ago it appeared by one of the ponds. The stump demonstrates how quickly they grow. The tits will miss it as much as I. The awashbuckling greenfinches are happier to swing around the fruits of the Rugosa rubiflora,

cations. There was none of the

spring excitement. Instead a quiet

purposeful flight and intent

Downland without plough and people

There are other ways of applying pressure. A colleague of mine, a SOMEONE gave me a splendid old other lowly downland flowers.

map, dated 1773, of a corner of In abandoned rabbit holes

England featuring my native vil- wheatears nested. Shrikes impaled lage, which I call Nadderbourne. beetles on convenient thorn-My chief surprise was how up-toname as a contact by a hotel prostitute, and under Soviet law date it was. It could serve as a plan each March to nest in sufficient of the village today, apart from the numbers to form flocks of 50 to 70 he had to be given a medical check fact that we have many more birds when they were collecting for houses. The High Street, The autumn migration. For me as a Green, Church Lane, Black Lane, boy the carolling in chorus of these Proclaiming his innocence to his embassy, he took the first plane to the little back road known as Boye Frankfurt, had himself thoroughly Hedges, the Bottom Way, the

The main thrust of the article route for western tourists or busiwas to complain that in the nessmen. Moscow provides far absence of any Soviet law against more glaring examples.

He then flew on to New York, to explain to his employers why this had to be seen as a nasty attempt to discredit a thrusting and again. The names of the various gressive reporter, and to explain to coppices are familiar to me, and I his wife, who was having their could find my way through them first baby. Not as bad as the easily by following the tracks map. The only feature I can find that I previously knew nothing about is a neatly drawn sketch of a the high downs. There are no

village, however, all is changed. The main London road, traversed by stage coaches, is recognisable, acres, of monoculture. but all other tracks are marked by dotted lines, indicating that they area of my 1773 map the Governwere unfenced, unhedged, and ment in 1912 acquired about 7,000 doubtfully permanent. I am re- acres of downland for use by the minded of the old downland track Army. An adequate ring-fence was from Salisbury to the village of erected to keep people out; the few

bushes. Stone curlews returned curlews in the gathering dusk was

Then the second world war required the reclamation of these derelict lands, as in the days of Napoleon. Once again the plough not subsequently retreated sprays, improved varieties of farm superlative crops of barley and even of wheat and other crops on ancient hedges to interface with On the downland side of the cultivation, the downland scrub has been bulldozed away, and the fields are now units of hundreds

But there are exceptions. In the

#### By Ralph Whitlock

Whitsbury which, a hundred years farms within it were demolished; ago, was marked at intervals by a and no plough has been admitted series of small pyramids of chalk, ever since. From time to time called "chalk lights". On winter nights the light from the flickering oil-lamps on the carrier's cart faintly illuminated the next cone ever assume that these hotel liai- have heard sensible people say, as he drew abreast of one, thus When the police bother to inter- sons take place without an inter- "No, I didn't see anything" upon preventing him from getting lost ested audience, or that the girls do returning from a walk-which-was -- on-the-downs. And more than one not co-operate with the authorities alive with sparrows, but lacked village in these parts has a tradiwhen pressured to do so. There was sparrow hawks. At this time of tion of legacies devoted to the the famous case of Commander year the sparrows visually reflect ringing of church bells at dusk, for "Gunboat" Courtney, whose parlia- autumn in their various carefully the benefit of travellers wandering on the downs.

Several events subsequent to beech leaves. The wing edges of 1778, when this map was drawn, setting for all our autumnal for- wars with Napoleon the need for browns is an echo of the leaves much of the downland to be culwhilst the darkest colours remind tivated. Then in 1819 an enclosure afternoon. us of the black wet tree trunks, not act carved up an area of what were reflecting light, simply oozing apparently open fields on the downland side of the village. Some If you stop at the Windmill Cafe of the hawthorn hedges then plantthe sparrows put on an Oliver ed still mark the boundaries of Twist performance of gregarious farms, but they are very different eating. Wasps are still around from the broad hedges of mixed driven into rubbish bins and loiter- bushes which form a network on so well. It was evident that earlier ing lazily about. Their yellow picks the forest side of the parish and up the luminous floating quality of are, in 1819, noted as "Ancient helleborines and other orchids.

By the end of the century, however, much of this new apportionment of land was obsolete. Under the impact of vast imports of grain from the new lands overseas most of fields created when Napoleon's memory was still green were abandoned, and the reserve, and, having exerienced downs reverted to their former what had happened to the downs status. As I remember them, once all around his perimeter fence, one had climbed the winding hill agreed with him. "If the Army had with the remaining green leaves. and the fields ended and nothing but derelict downland undulated away to the horizon. Tracks were adding to the grain mountain superfluous. You took your bearings by the sun and struck out in approximately the right direction.

downs in the 1920s and 1930s, and what a paradise for wild life they no plough and no public equal werel For one thing, they were populated by millions of rabbits. their numbers hardly affected by occasional shooting and trapping. Their constant nibbling kept the fibrous turf short, creating ideal conditions for the wild thyme, harebells, 'milkwort, eyebright, rock-roses, orchids and all the

Army tanks trundle over the downs, and certain areas are pockmarked with shell-holes. For all know, other military activities take place there, too.

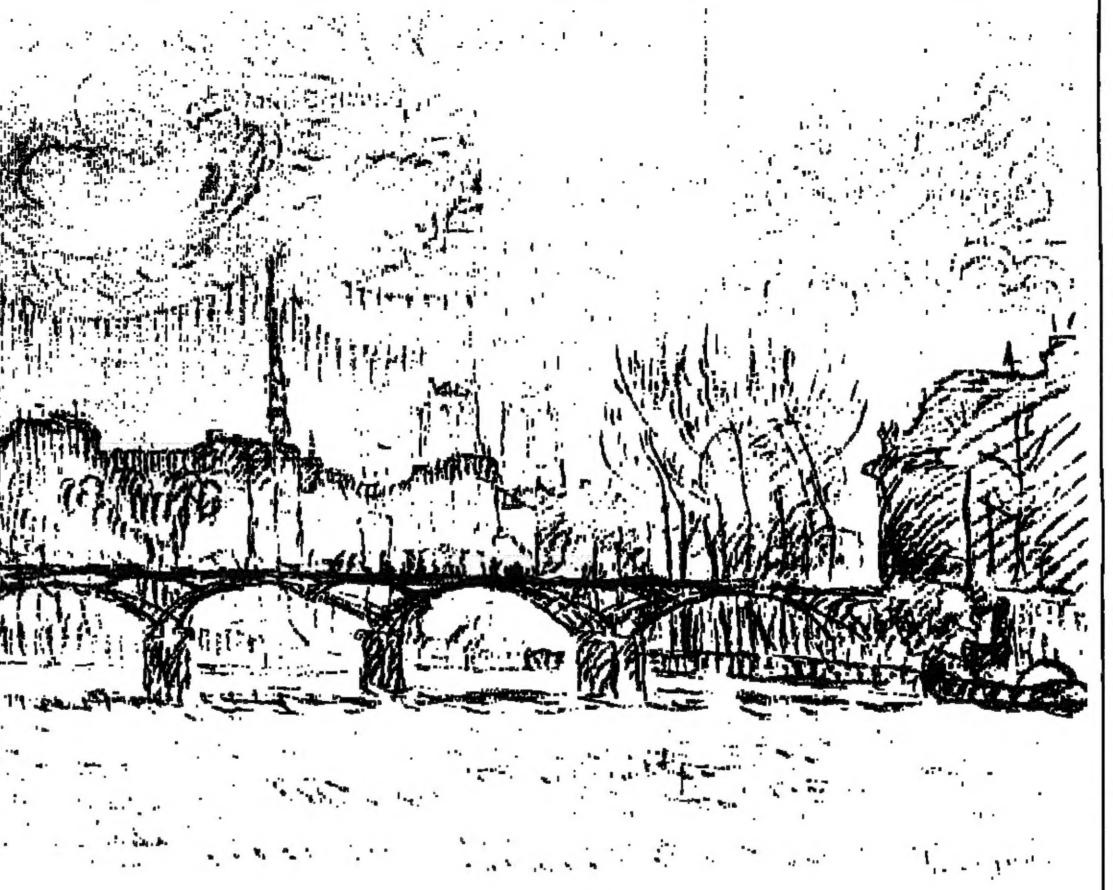
Recently I was invited to look over the ranges, and spent-a happy Sunday afternoon inspecting them on foot and by Landrover. For me was a nostalgic experience, for here were the downs, just as remembered them, fifty or sixty years ago. An immensity of rolling hills and hidden hollows; thickets of berry-laden bushes; constella tions of rabbit-burrows; gnarled old junipers; turf almost as springy as a trampoline; and never a building nor a soul in sight, all the

Although the season for down found scores of those paper-like carline thistles, now so rare, and autumn gentians, devil's-bit scabichalk-loving plants I used to know there had been a good crop of Wheatears had been nesting in the rabbit-holes, and eight out of nine pairs of stone-curlews were report ed to have bred. Several species of butterflies, including chalk-hill

blues, were flitting about. My guide was enthusiastic about the status of his ranges as a nature these acres would now be growing magnificent crops of barley ... and

So perhaps that would be the alternative to farm crops which everybody is looking for. Turn the That is how I remember the surplus acres over to the Army For there can be little doubt that paradise for wild life!

Letters to the Editor are welcome but not all can be acknowledged. . We don't like outting them but sometimes this is necessary to get them in the page - short letters stand a better chance. Send them to. The Guardian Weekly, PO Box 19. Cheadle, Cheshire SK8 100 England.



Le Pont des Arts, Paris (c1919).

## Past with flying colours

not to have made a success of the confining colour rules of Neo-Impressionism. Signac was too good an artist not to have broken away from them.

Seurat is remembered for great pointillist set pieces like La Grande Jatte. Signac's principal painted contribution to the theory of Neo-Impressionism was the extravagantly titled and faintly absurd Portrait of M. Felix Feneon Against The Enamel of a Background Rhythmic with Beats and Angles, Tones and Colours (1890). He also wrote a book called From Delacroix To Neo-Impressionism. But if he had never met Seurat and never become the movement's principle theorist, he would still

properties of watercolour: "je vous the later enthusiasm for the recommande l'aquarelle, c'est tres American school of abstract exprecieux, tres practique," he wrote pressionism. In 1977 Appel himself to Signac, and went on to extol the fugitive effects possible in the

The most glorious of the little watercolours in this show is a rendering of St Tropez of around 1900, all high-keyed oranges and bour. Matisse, who had read Sigcame to stay with Signac in 1904. one knows. What he took from

moved to New York. He was never probably enthusiasm for the new l are made with the younger men

yellows offset by the cool blues of like Kiefer are inevitable and a boats and reflections in the har- little unfair to both parties. Kiefer and company are tremendous nac's apologia for divisionism, naturals; Appel, for all the gut What he got from the book no as a consequence the big political gestures, the subject matter em Signac's painting is there for all to bracing war and hunger come across as grandiose rather than painting to this day has been more deeply felt. Picasso's greatest

Paul Signac was the chief theorist of the Neo-impressionists who broke the rules himself. His colours captivated Matisse and Influence painters today. Michael McNay reports on the first exhibition of his work in this country for 30 years.

have painted wonderfully well. When he met Seurat in 1884 he was 21 and already painting with pointillist enthusiasm. Though Seurat was deeply involved in scientific theories of the interacpersuaded him to drop earth colours from his palette, later Sig-

1935 and painted until the end, without significant development. His paintings became more literal- the spire signified by a single minded, that is all. The Marlborough acquired a body of work from Signac's daughter, and have since added to that corpus so that this exhibition of studies, many never half-century span of his career.

It starts with a conte crayon in the work of Karel Appel. Appel, study made in 1885, the year after born in Amsterdam in 1921, pro- ... Paul Signac watercolours and he met Seurat, and it might be fesses the prime influence of Picas- drawings at the Marlborough Galmistaken for one of Seurat's own. In 1885 itself they both met Pissairo. They persuaded Pissairo to adopt divisionism; Pissarro persuaded Signac of the beneficial

widespread than any other innovation in the art of the last hundred a long shot; but it had more real

The Impressionists and their immediate successors have often

stroke, firm as a drumbeat, economical as calligraphy.

One of Signac's unlikelier influences was Van Gogh, if only because the Dutchman introduced so, but it is Van Gogh who is lery, 6 Albermarle Street, London balefully present.

Appel was a founder-member in 1949 of Cobra (Copenhagen, Brus-, the Arnolfini Gallery, Narrow sels, Amsterdam) which got lost in Quay, Bristol, until January 4.

painting was not Guernica, not by bottom than all Appel put togeth-

Yet is it extraordinary that after enough been called the painters of the realities of Belsen, Hiroshima the urban bourgeoisie, but it was and Vietnam in living colour was the untutored Signac who at least as true that water was. Appel feels able to face up to these their element: water, the mirror of subjects at all. A triptych like War And Hunger (1983) seems al Water came as naturally to overworked cliche: garish flames Bignes as to the fish in St Tropez and artillery piece to the left, an harbour; water, watercolour, pen- ashen heap to the right, in the colours and drawings gathered cil and ink. The drawings of Paris centre skull-like pleading heads together at the Marlborough, you are wonderfully acute, rhythmic, and dishes held out Oliver-Twist can see why. Signac lived until concise: the accents of trees fashion. But the attack and the against the arches of the Pont scale are pretty - no, horribly Neuf, the towers of Notre Dame, convincing: maybe Appel needed to make the great humans statements if only to get started.

But big gestures don't necessarily make big paintings; and silly though the comparison may be, it is to hand: Signac 61/2 inch by 10 seen in public before, covers the him to Japanese prints. Van linch St Tropez is a better painting Gogh's influence is much plainer than Appel's 61/2ft by 17ft War and

> W1. until December 31. Karel Appel paintings 1980-5 at

## Tales of the unexpected

CINEMA by Derek Malcolm

is as good as its word. It is an story by Joyce Carol Oates, called entirely new kind of musical, Where Are You Going, Where

there has been nothing like it time, you notice the kind of before and, if it fails, there may observation that gets further unnot be again. My advice is simply der the skin than most youth to taste it and see.

the rich woman who lies in bed all And Chopra watches her with icy day watching television and being fascination.

The Talking Heads' songs themselves tune into their surroundings, using the different kinds of a forgotien man exactly, but it was | indigenous music, like gospel, figurative painting that has once even polkas to maximum effect. again made him a big Appel to a The photography, by Ed Lachman, wider public. So maybe the comparisons that | colours, the sky, and the arid open

own thoughts, is the opposite of and be damned.

remember this, our favourite lished here by J. M. Dent

Prince

"MOVIES are a combination of town." There's not much doubt a trick to get you to keep paying attention." It could just be a Festival showing, Joyce Chopra's statement from Jean-Luc Godard, Smooth Talk arrives at the but in fact the words come from Renoir, justly heralded as the most David Byrne of Talking Heads. intriguing debut featured from True Stories, his debut film, America this year. Based on a

probably well ahead of it time. Have You Been? it is as delicate Set in Virgil, Texas, and based and convincing a study of adoles-on newspaper and magazine articonce as we've seen for some time. Have You Been? it is as delicate cles, it attempts to get the feel of At first you think it is jus the place and the people by mesh-ing their stories together, illustrat-ing them with songs and looking at with her parents, cavorts through the resultant human landscape a shopping mall with her friends with insatiably curious eyes. I've and daydreams with the mirror in absolutely no idea how many front of her, practising an unconpeople will like the film because vincing sophistication. Only this

movies ever attempt. True Stories, at any rate, has This is a suburban girl with two great virtues. The first is that careless hatred for everything that it never tells you what to think so gots in the way of the main object that you can make up your own in her life; which is to draw mind. And the second is that its attention to herself by every posportrait of Texas resolutely refuses sible means. Connie, suporbly to go down the casy road of finding played by Laura Dern, is a child the place eccentrically larger than who looks like an adult and can't life. The fat man who wants love, think of how to behave like one.

fed by a mechanical spoon, and the So, too, does 'Treat Williams's all-motal houses you can buy off equally icy Arnold who, halfway the peg as you would a suit are through the film, arrives at her observed as if they were quite house in his custom-built car and ordinary - as probably they are in proceeds to seduce her. Dimly, she knows what he's doing but, like a moth round a flame, cannot resist

It's this long sequence which is the fulcrum of the film, and it relies on almost everything the modern American film is frightened of - words, glances, the building of atmosphere without action and a kind of moral force that pushes it beyond more real-

Byrne himself is a kind of The film is in many ways a benignly ironic commentator, beautiful one, with cool, limpid mostly at the wheel of his car, photography from James Glennon scudding down the highways and a screenplay by Tom Oole that which he says are the chief mark pays the original author considerof this civilisation. He seems to able tribute. It is about that point like what he sees, while regretful- in time when the young suddenly admitting that some may not. grow up and see the corruption of And his film, like a sketch book the world. It is also about the force drawing on familiar American that's in all of us to test out what artists and writers, as well as his we can get away with, to reach out

Chopra is clearly a talent it True Stories ends with the lyric: would be very unwise to ignore as "We live in the city of dreams, we is Oates whose volume of short drive on the highway of fire, stories from which this was taken should we awake, and find it gone, is called Wild Saturday and pub-

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ourselves: there are sixty

practical projects to be

today's violence.

more costly everyday and the

Nicholas de Jongh on a Joyous production at Oxford LAURENCE STERNE'S Tristram Shandy effortlessly swims "down the gutter of time" from the eighteenth century and into our own where it seems far more at home. Sterne threw off the novelist's traditional costumes of ominacience, order and articulate form for a great game of free association, in which the narrator tries to write the story of his life and finds it a mysterious wilderness where he and his family loom, flash and ruminate.

The form and atmosphere of the novel is admirably suited to the theatre and Peter Buckman's new adaptation, although necessarily condensed, distils the manner and method of the original. In Richard Williams's production Michael Holt's stage design, with its toylike, cardboard cut-outs and the frame and interiors of two clock faces, conveys the right mood of artifice and childlike playfulness.

What emerges, perhaps predictably, is the sense of jovial, discursive eccentrics playing life as if it were a sport and of Tristram Shandy, a narrator manipulating his characters as if they were

falling drape, the night-capped Mr averted.

AN APOCALYPTIC Thirties doom

hangs over Hammersmith. A few

hundred yards from Shaw's Too

True To Be Good at the Riverside

Studios, Jean Cocteau's The Infer-

nal Machine (1934) is given a rare,

exotic revival by Simon Callow at

the Lyric. Both plays suffer from

garrulity but both are filled with a

sense of impending destruction

and an hallucinatory quality that says a lot about the flight from

Cocteau's play, a mix of high

tragedy and high camp, is a re-

telling of the Oedipus myth largely

from Jocasta's point of view. The

weakness of the play is that

Cocteau never seems quite sure

what he thinks. Reversing the

inherent justice of Greek tragedy,

he shows men in relation to the

gods as flies to wanton boys: killed

for sport. Yet, at the same time,

the youthfully arrogant Oedipus is

transformed by suffering from "a

playing-card king" into a man. The play is also haunted by a sense of

sexual confusion so that mother-

fixation is both idealised ('Is there

a couple more proud of themselves

than a son and a young mother?")

and rigorously punished when it

leads to incest.

and arbitrary fate.

realism in the inter-war years.



Michael Turner as Mr Shandy.

and Mrs Shandy noisily go about puppets who found wills of their the business of creating Tristram. And from the window of this Cock and bull bawdy, if one can room comes a bolt from the blue so describe salacious tall stories, is when the five-year old Tristram is the most accontuated device. Up a accidentally circumcised in a manflight of stairs, where a bed is ner which defies description and rapidly concealed from view by a from which our eyes are sensibly

Michael Billington reviews The Infernal Machine at Hammersmith

A miniature garden with topiary, where gentle Uncle Toby and Jim McManus, gorgeously deadpan as his servant Trim, romp and fight old battles, becomes the scene for artful salacity where Toby's wounded groin, the impor-tuning of the Widow Wadman and ways a peculiarly unpleasant man.

in language of elegant circumlocu-Dr Slop, the jovially incompetent medicine man, and the ever agitated maid are stock examples of comic warfare compared with the pompous Mr Shandy, deep in the realms of fantastical speculations upon the bridges of human noses. But the fragmentary random jollities prove to be bracing, endearing

an undercover apologia for mastur-batory techniques are all described

In Richard Williams' production there are times when the pace lags a little and Donald Pelmear's Uncle Toby seems a little too close to caricature. But David Mallinson's bewigged and suave Tris-

majestic fountain of absurdities. kind of pleasure - of the sort we discover when the life of a novel is clubman awfulness, he makes one skilful and original literary technirecreated upon the stage.

The production visits Aberystwyth. Taunton and Poole. Oedipus at the Cocteau party

Gordon Craig and end with a bare,

stark platform. Kevin Malpass's

soundtrack also gives us the full aural\_works\_from\_echoing\_trum-

pets to what might be the murmur

The actors, to their credit, re-

Wilson lending Oedipus a gauche,

youthful confidence, Robert

Eddison playing Tiresias like an

over-protective mother-hen and

Neil Cunningham appearing as a

suave Cocteauesque commentator

telling us what is going to happen

The play often tests one's pa-

And while Cocteau lacks tragic

tience: the production rewards it.

depth, his warning about the

dangers of a society hungry for

"strong men" suddenly cuts

of innumerable bees.

before it does.

sportsman and passionately keen

At Lancing he helped to found a Dilettanti Society and a Corpse Club "for those weary of life," and brought home the kind of effeminate arty bachelor friend his fa- remained a sad man, yearning ther disliked. His record of drinking, homosexuality, and gen- dark thoughts. erally outrageous behaviour at Oxford is recorded in Waugh's own standard biography, replacing Diaries, although, Mr Stannard

directed against his father, a middle-class, middle-brow, and generthis house and how ill I feel in it,"

## Literary frog prince

EVELYN WAUGH: THE EARLY YEARS, 1903-1939, by Martin Stannard (Dent, £14.95). **EVELYN WAUGH was in various** 

He was the most obvious kind of snob, detesting the middle-class ambience into which he had been born, and seeking out the rich and influential. Eager for self-adver-tisement obtained through the gossip columns written by his friends, touting constantly for journalistic assignments, he had the nerve to say that journalism was too low a profession for an English gentleman. A novice in poetry, he condescended to the finest poets of

In later years he insulted friends, made drunken scenes, put house saying nobody would be admitted on business. "A common Cooper's summing up, made in

A prime merit of Martin Stannard's account of Waugh's life from birth up to the War (a second life, and his own finest novels are volume to come) is that, without blinking the bowler-hatted tionary who was a wonderfully end up feeling sorry for Evelyn cian, but also a damaged human Waugh, admiring his tenacity, being even finding him sympathetic.

Waugh's childhood was marred raphy shows. Painfully aware of by his father's evident preference his red face, shortness theight five for elder brother Alec, an all-round foot five, bourgeois background, cricketer. Evelyn, uninterested in longed for the love of rich, beautisport, became un aggressive aesthete. Intended for his father's and Lady Diana Cooper, who liked brother's school, Sherborne, Evelyn him, said he was "the frog people had to settle for Lancing College can't endure." Rejection made instead, after Alec was asked to him rude, turned him to drink leave Sherborne because of homo- "sent him off to write commissioned sexual activities.

suggests, with some exaggeration. In part, Waugh's conduct was oirs. he said in his twenties when man.



staying in the family's villa i striving with the utmost seriousness from Lancing days onwards to

"An artist must be a reaction

How deeply damaged this biogcomparative poverty, Waugh ful girls. Rejection was frequent books about travels in Abvasinia Tanganyika, the Belgian Congo.

Reception in 1980 into the Catholic church perhaps kept him from suicide or insanity, but he always for action as a salve for

Christopher Sykes's now slightly outdated work, and various mem-

Would Waugh have liked the book Almost certainly not. He might ally middling managing director of have concluded that candid biograa publishing firm. "How I detest phy, like journalism, is not an occupation for an English gentle-

#### through the camp and rings true after half-a-century. Gandhi's banker By Tariq Ali

THE EMISSARY, by Alan Ross (Collins/Harvill, £14).

Theban mother) is a cunning Constructed like an opiate stroke since she has the rare ability to move from nasal camp to poppy Cocteau, in particular the real emotion with no visible change of gear. Drawling and (well played by Veronica Smart as drooling over a young guard in the but the analogy is more partial deeply symbolic, and helped to caste which still dominates the a slip of a girl in a girlish slip) first act ("Ooh look at those than most. Birla and Tata con- determine the shape of pre-inde- Bombay stock exchange. Unlike voluntarily yields her secret to biceps") she is extremely funny; structed their commercial empires pendence politics. yet she also gets across the point under the watchful eyes of their Ironically, Cocteau's play is that Jocasta's dream of youth wills British rivals. strongest when it is most deriva- the tragedy. Ms Smith, with a This book is an interesting, twentieth century. When his fel- state and Gandhi and between tive in the first act which is like a voice that can swoop like a bat or albeit uncritical, account of a low members of the Federation of Gandhi and Nehru. He financed joky re-play of the battlement- be pure as ice, exists simulta- crucial phase in the life of India Indian Chambers of Commerce the Congress and Gandhi. The

scene in Hamlet with the ghost of neously in the world of a Cocteau and G. D. Birla, Unlike every Lauis hourly expected, and in the party and classical tragedy: in the other land occupied by the British, fourth act which gets back to final act tiny movements to her India had a highly developed Sophoclean basics. The overall gold-coin profile tell us all we need trading caste. Without the tariff strategic insights proved decisive. sary to keep Gandhi in the poverty to know about Jocasta's suicidal barriers and other restrictions imimpression is of a hothouse periodpiece which suggests that, in the modern as much as the classical Her performance alone is worth doubt that industrialisation would India would dispense with the 'the witticism. the detour. But Simon Callow also have proceeded at a rapid pace, captains of industry and embark. Alan Ross's book contains most world, man is the victim of a cruel rightly swathes the piece in a multiplying the creation of wealth on a socialist course. Birla's fellow- of this information, but for a poet's Whatever the play's imper- florid, Benthallesque theatricality. and the wealthy.

Maggie Smith in

THE GIANT trading houses of Birla's lifelong friendship with

Birla and Tata have dominated Indian industry since the early years of this century. It is tempting to see them as the Indian

fections, I am still glad to have Bruno Santini's designs begin This did not happen. Dwarfed leader explained to them patiently; bereft of life and colour. This is a seen it; and the casting of Maggie startingly with a smoke-wreathed against their will, India's capital- that a split between Gandhi and great pity because both the subject Smith (as both Jocasta and a precipitous flight of stairs evoking ista had little option but to become Nehru would be a gigantic disaster and the period lack neither.

a nationalist bourgeoisie, which saw in the Congress Party a future was best guaranteed by a political vehicle that could champion its interests against those of

Gandhi was totally genuine (it was in Birla's Delhi mansion that the Mahatma was brutally slain by a equivalent of Ford and Rockefeller, Hindu fanatic), but it was also heredity, belonged to the Marwari Birla was one of the most shrewd political broker: an important and insightful capitalists of the mediator between the colonia

and Industry (FICCI) wanted pub- waspish Sarolini Naidu (poet and licly to attack and isolate Nehru' Congress leader) once remarked and split the Congress, Birla's that Birla's millions were neces-

posed by colonialism, there is little radical. He was arguing that a free was more than a grain of truth in capitalists were apoplectic. Their book it is a somewhat dry read,

tamed Nehru, who would prove to be as vital in the post-independence phase as Gandhi has been in the struggle which led up to Birla, a broker by profession and

Nehru was in 1935-6 at his most to which he was accustomed. There

## Gorbachev's Russia — not quite Camelot on ice

THE WAKING GIANT: The Soviet Union in the Gorbachev Era, by Martin Walker (Michael Joseph,

MOST readers of the Guardian I suspect, like myself, will be unaware that Martin Walker was only the third Guardian resident Moscow correspondent when he was appointed in 1984. (His distinguished predecessors were Arthur Ransome, best known for his children's books, and Malcolm Muggeridge). One happy result of his assignment is a book, The Waking Giant, which is highly readable. and could well serve as most people's Bedside Guardian Guide to Russia. For the book does actually tell one what Russia is, "a country that takes eight days to cross by train, a country so huge that night never completely falls, a country that contains over a hundred nationalities, speaking over a hundred different tongues.

It is also revealing in explaining Moscow's anxiety about the wave of Islamic fundamentalism lapping its own southern borders. "In 1940, the combined population of the six traditionally Muslim republics of Azerbaijan, Kazakhatan, Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan, Turkmenistan and Kirgizia was just 20 million. By 1985, it leaped to 52 million, and the birth rate of the southern republics soared far ahead of that of the white Slavs of the north. On current demographic trends, by the year 2000, 40 per cent of conscripts to the Soviet army will be Muslims."

It is only when one understands the immense diversity of modern Russia that one can appreciate the regional tensions and realise why the ruling Polithuro are most unlikely to relax in any significant way the centralised authority so characteristic of Soviet Commu-

If you search for it in this book, there is a hard-headed assessment

> David Owen reviews a book on Russia by Martin Walker

of Russian realities and warning messages for the average Guardian reader. For example: "There is a tendency in the West to assume that reformers are liberals. In the context of Soviet affairs, this is an unwise assumption. Although Andropov's career in the central committee under Khrushchev showed him to be an anti-Stalinist, and a man with sophisticated tastes in the arts, neither he nor any of his supporters was a liberal in any sense that the West would

In the year that we remember the thirtieth anniversary of the bloody suppression of the Hungar-ian Uprising in which Andropov played such a key role, this is a timely warning. But when it comes to discussing

Mikhail Gorbachev, one detects that the author has been captivated, and indeed part of the charm of the book is the sense of hope that it gives for the future. Though he dismisses as "fanciful rambling" and a "bizarre parallel" the claim by one Gorbachev contemporary that they now had their Kennedy - he had gone on to say, "That's us. Moscow as Camelot. Camelot on ice" - one nevertheless is left wondering. There is, running through the book, the same mood music that characterised the writing out of Washington in the early part of the Kennedy Presidency. If, as I believe, we are witnessing a profound change in Soviet

themselves in a change of direction of Soviet policy. With the exception of arms control, where there is undoubtedly a marked readiness to think afresh - largely fuelled by anxiety over the domestic econom-

Yet this book does point us in change. Whether in describing the clampdown against corruption.

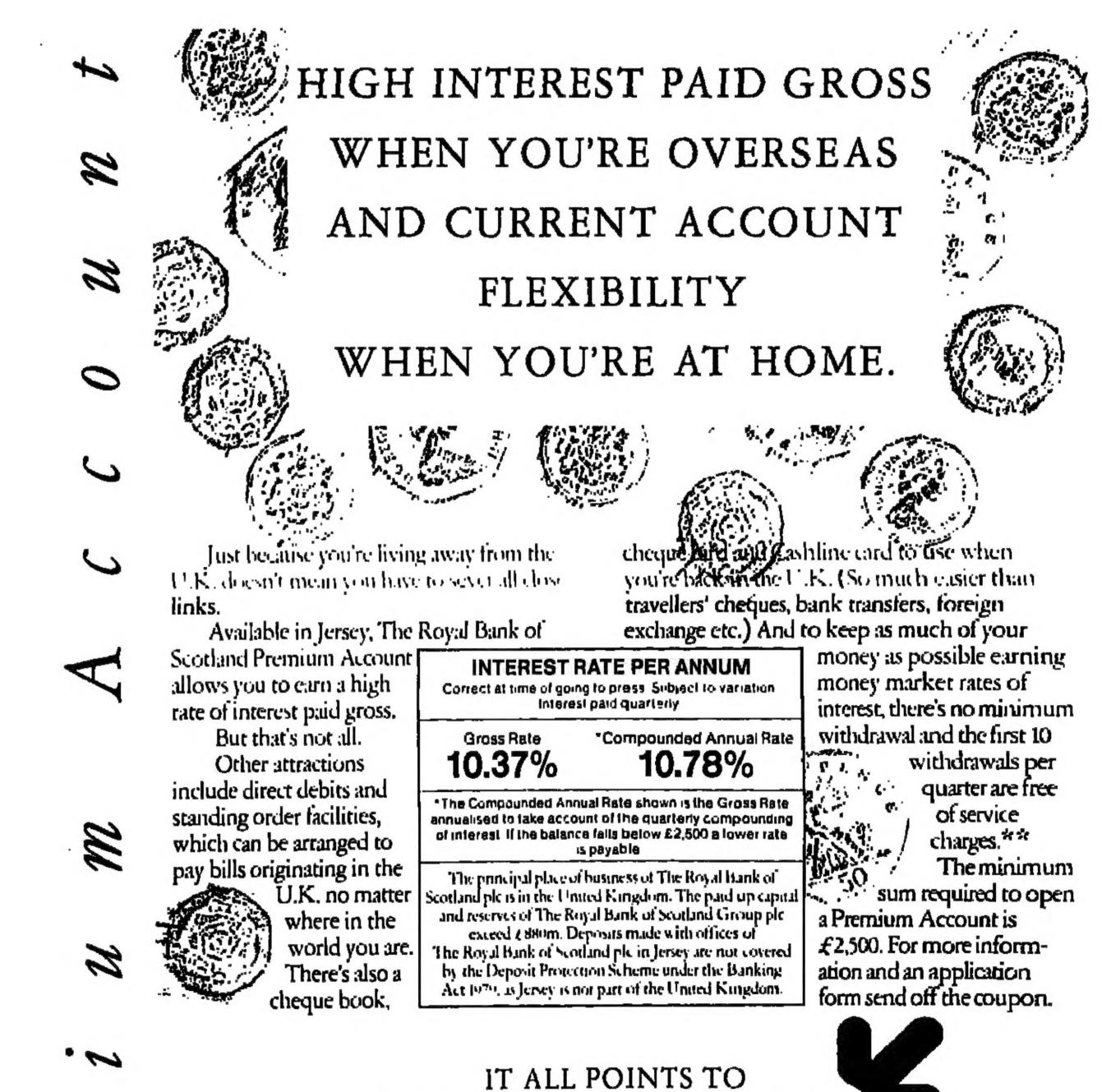
West need when approaching the 20 years. fill a big gap. But there are many

anxiety over the domestic economic burden of continuing the arms (Guardian Weekly, November 2) race — change will be slow to Dr David Whitehouse describe in great detail the Soviet "Star Wars" programme. Many people believe that this only started with Presithan a quarter of a century the

It is this sort of duplicity that is the Soviet Union. To virtually

attitudes, we should be very carethe restructuring of the Foreign defences to blunt the effectiveness there will be a truly significant defences to blunt the effectiveness there will be a truly significant of any ballistic missile attack. The arms control agreement with the which those attitudes will reveal can sense that change is in the air. Soviet anti-satellite system has prospect of more to come. But can sense that change is in the air. Soviet anti-satellite system has prospect of more to come. But What the liberal-minded in the been under development for nearly negotiating with the Soviet Union will still require wariness and hard-headed realism.

> Gorbachev does represent more than just a new image. But there does, is to miss a vital characteristhere are opportunities. As Martin tic of Soviet society.
>
> Walker himself recognises, "The ing to improve. That is very revolution while Brezhnev slept



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any defence (by R. F. Fegen, 1984) --a problem with a hidden trap.

Solution No. 1932 While K at KN7, Rs at Q5 and KN1 B at QB6, N at KR4, Ps at QB2, KB2 KR3 and KR5. Black K at K5, Q at QR3, N at QN2, Ps at QN3, QB6, K7,

KB5 and KR3. Mate in three. 1 R-KB1 (threat 2 P-B3 ch and 3 N-N2) PxR(Q) 2 N-B3 and if KxN 3 R-Q2 or Q-N7 ch 3 R-N5. If 1 . . . P-B6 2 R-KN1 and 3 R-N4.

AFTER Kasparov v Karpov, the currently fashionable chess event is a super-tournament — highly rated, elitist, and confined to the very best players in the world. Bugoino in 13 P-KR4! Yugoslavia set the trend in the Spring when it claimed the first category 16 event, with an average rating for the eight participants of 2828, equivalent to 253 on the BCF grading scale. P-B4 NPxP was less effective. Bugojno's organisers received adverse publicity when it was argued that they 15 0-0 NxB

were not, after all, the first category 16 tournament, but their results still

> of Karpov's loss to the young Sokolov. Now another heavyweight contender, the annual Interpolis Insurance event at Tiburg in Holland, has aimed to reassert its position as king of the super-tournaments. Tilburg, with an average rating of 2619, fell marginally short of calegory 16, but for an honourable reason. Their lowest rated player was Tony Miles (2570) but Miles won Tilburg 1984 and last year he brought the event global headlines when, with an injured back, he played stomach down on a hospital massage

Miles's opening round at Tilburg 1986 began with a much debated variation of the Queen's Indian Defence. Miles had lost an earlier game with this line, but now arrived at the board with a novelty so strong that Belyavsky resigned in under three hours play.

GM Tony Miles (England) -GM Alexander Belyavsky (ÚSSR) Queen's Indian Defence (Interpolls, Tilburg 1986) P-Q4 N-KB3 2 P-QB4 P-K3 N-KB3 P-QN3 4 N-B3 B-N5 B-N6 B-N2 6 P-K3 P-KR3 7 B-R4 P-KN4 8 B-N3 N-K5 9 Q-B2 P-Q3 10 B-Q3 BxN ch 11 PxB P-KB4 12 P-Q5 N-B4

This push, weakening Black's pawn front before opening up the centre adds bite to White's strategy, in earlier games an immediate 13 N-Q4 Q-B3 14

14 N-Q4 Q-B3

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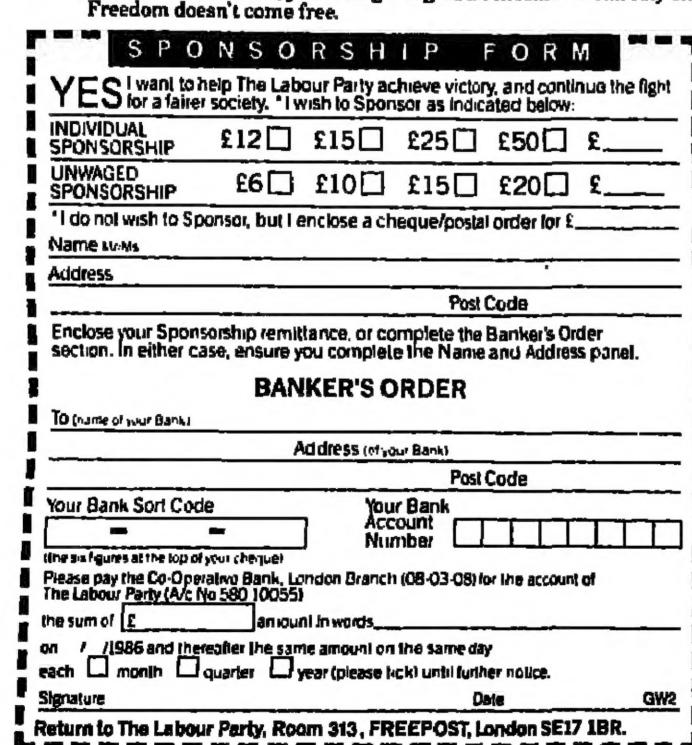
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In Kasparov-Timman, 4th match game 1985, and Miles-Timman, from a later round at Tilburg 1986, Black tried 15 . . . N(1)-R3, but this also proved favourable for White.

16 QxN P-K4 17 NxP B-B1

Now 18 P-K4 BxN 19 PxB N-Q2 favours Black, since White's pawns are dislocated and 20 P-B4 PxP ep 21 RxP O-O-O gives Black the KN file for his attack. In Kasparov-Timman, 6th game 1985, the sacrifice 18 N-Q4 PxN 19 BPxP Q-B4? 20 P-K4 did well, but 22 P-Q6 Q-K1 Gligoric-Popovic, Yugoslav champion- 24 Q-Q5 N-B3 ship 1986, improved by 19 . . . O-O! 20 26 QR-KB1 R-Q1

However, Miles and Timman analysed the position further and came up with another improvement.

The right way to sacrifice the piece, since White now opens up the black king on several fronts. 19 P-K4 Q-R4 21 P-B51 K-Q1

An ingenious idea, artificial queen's side castling, but the attack is too 23 PxP ch KxP

29 Q-N5 Resigns The winning threat is 30 QxNF followed by RxN ch and Q-B7 mate. Soviet grandmasters are resilient Following this defeat, Belyavsky also lost his next game to Hubner, ther railled strongly. In the second half of the double-round event he bear Ljubojevic, Karpov and Korchnol in successive rounds. Miles, in contres fell back.

After 12 of the 14 rounds at Tilbur scores were Belyavsky 71/2, Ljubolevi 61/2 (1 adj), Karpov 6 (1 adj), Hubner and Portisch 51/2 (1 adj), Timman 5 (1 adj), Miles 41/2 (1 adj), Korchnol 41/2.

A 10943

PAQ9753

By Rixi Markus®

of exciting events, with hundreds of to hearts. This was the moment of truth Cup between four countries, this year the queen and ace. East won the third the national squade of Austria, Betglum, Holland and France. Austria following position: were the convincing winners; and the overall individual champion was Austria's Jan Fucik, who won most of the major events. Here is an ordinary hand which Fucik played very skilfully. Dealer South: love all.

Journ Court, tove all.	
NORTH  K82  AJ 10 4  A98  Q74  WEST  95  95  9752  Q5  KJ 10 9 2  SOUTH  AQ 7 6  B  J 10 4 2	EAST
7 4 14 1 5	

A 865

West led the two of hearts to the ten and queen, and East switched to his

THE Casino at Deauville's World singleton club. This was ducked to Bridge Festival comprises two weeks West's king, and West switched back players making it part of their annual for declarer. He went up with dummy's holiday. In the afternoons, there is a ace, crossed to hand with the ace of Vu-Graph contest for the Deauville spades and led the jack of diamonds to

	♠ K8 ♥ J4	
	♣ Q7	
WEST		EAST
♣ J 10 9	SOUTH	<b>*</b> -
	<b>♠</b> Q78	
	♦ 10 • A 8	

East should now have cashed the queen of hearts, but he greedily exited with his remaining diamond. Declarer won with the ten, discarding a heart from dummy, and cashed his two club winners, the second of which squeezed East in the major suits. Jan Fucik therefore emerged with ten tricks and a good match-point score on the

Austrian champion Kurt Felchtinger after he and his partner, Karl Rohan, had been pushed into a slam by an that this was not a good slam, but opposing pre-empt. Dealer East; game always maintain that any slam which

**◆** 74 **4** Q876 **♥** K62 OJ8 ♣ KQ109854 SOUTH **104** ◆ A 10 9 8 3 2

South became the declarer in 6S after East had opened the bidding with 3C. West led the queen of diamonds, and south won with the ace and cashed the ace of clubs, discarding the losing diamond from dummy.

Declarer's problem on this hand was the shortage of entries to the closed hand. He could not afford to expend the king of spades at trick three, and he found the key play of running the lack of spades on the first round of the sult. When this held the trick, he turned his attention to hearts, running the ter of hearts to East's king. South was now in control. He rulled the club return in dummy, crossed to the king of spades and drew trumps by way of a second finesse in the suit. The 3-2 This second hand was played by the heart break then gave him twelve tricks with no further difficulty.

Some players suggested afterwards makes is a good one!

. Old Instrument getting about by 14

3. Wipe out with old absorber, we

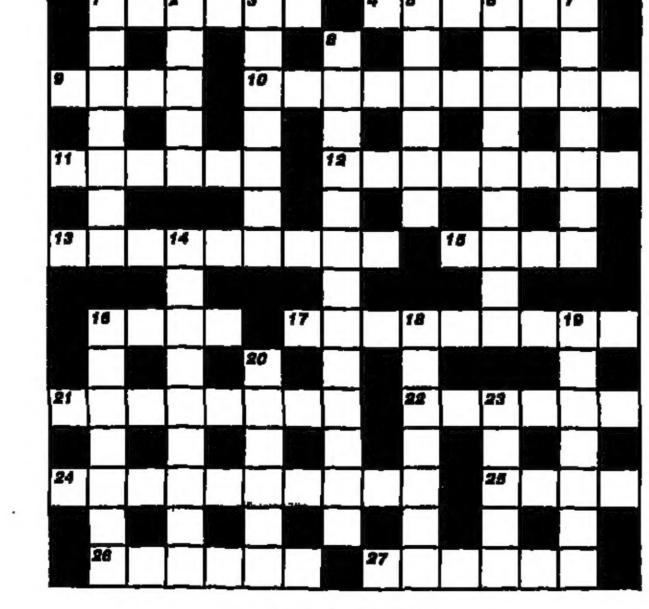
6. "Whoal" when breaking in hard

7. The man's got listeners in funeral

5. Midshipman's Jacket (6)

carriages (7)

2. See 12.



By ENIGMATIST

breeding (9)

27. Sald where to buy pig in tin? (6)

26. See 12

. One who is often out on the tiles 4. 15 & 23 Father, the one on my right 'and, with debris from rock bottom by 14 (10, 5) 9. Help with Lincoln's shirt? (4) 10. Now, December 25th (7-3) 11. Without credit, watched TV? (6)

13. Invert June 6 1944 paper for

lapses of concentration (9)

16. Fruit from the back of the milk-float 17. Gets into a tizz — it's a matter of 21. Lover's stronghold, Windscale (8) 22, 14's 20, hurt between the wings 24. Entralis, he insisted, need frying 12, 2, & 26 Parliamentarians in 25. Gem without its p-peer (4) W.C.2 by 14 (3, 5, 2, 3, 6)

8. Rise and fall in fall by 14 (9, 4) 14. Authoress arranged murder, I then concealed gold (2, 7) 16. Suckers provide shelter and complete game (7) 18. Comes when performance's over 19. Two cricket terms take too long (7) 20. Kindred Guardian setters getting in the money (6) 23. See 4

BLOODSHOT HADUP ETOILE EOLI SCHEDULEDFLIGHT O E O L D I M O M O I M O T H D O D L E BU G PLANE THURREN L L A E I A O I I

the many of the things are a second

Hoddle shows true grit

THERE was a certain grim satisfaction among British soccer supporters after last week's round of European championship qualifying matches. England beat Yugoslavia 2-0, displaying qualities of commitment and blood on the way; Scotland at last began scoring goals, though they would have preferred more than the 3-0 by which they beat Luxembourg; while Northern Ireland's young, rebuilt team worked unselfishly for each other in sharing a goalless match in Turkey.

not as dirty as it may have conquer at home Sheffield Wednes- bowlers. appeared when the wounded were day, finishing in a 1-1 draw. counted. Yugoslavia's substitute, Tuce, was unlucky enough to be pitch. The injury was eventually found to be strained ankle ligaments. England's Hoddle finished eight stitches in his wounds.

Alan Dunn's DIARY

As it was, goals eluded the defeat in five years and was the English strikers, but two defend- result of his loss of staming and ers, Anderson and Mabbutt, were touch as well as Norman's ambinicely placed to finish off two tion. moves that each had a touch of the Hoddle class about them. It was a that his elegant ability has an without opener Geoffrey Boycott

SCOTLAND had hoped to beat Luxembourg in Glasgow by at Belgium had achieved against had not scored in their previous two matches. The goals came from Cooper (2) and Johnston, and Scotgroup with four points.

were just keeping in touch with England in their group by drawing in Turkey. It was a match of few scoring chances as two resolute defences held control, but Ireland's ards, being out first ball. Hughes, aged 21, showed that he is in the mould of Jennings, his predecessor in goal, with two superb saves when Turkey really threatened. A draw was the least Ireland needed as they now face matches against England and Yugoslavia, twice, next year.

"DOMESTICALIAM, soocer in England saw the first round of the FA Cup, when the survivors of many previous qualifying rounds among the non-league, part-time clubs join battle with the lower order of FRENCH RUGBY UNION rethe professional League clubs. It is gained pride at the weekend with a always a fraught time for the magnificent victory 16-3 over the League clubs, many teetering on touring All Blacks. And they did it bankruptcy and looking for a by outplaying the New Zealanders decent run in the knockout cup to at their traditional point of boost takings. This year's star strength, the pack. Unlike the down-at-heel club are Stockport previous week, when the French County - and there was no change in their fortunes in the cup. With only one win from their 15 games they are rooted at the foot of that the match could well have the Fourth Division and favourites to become one of the first clubs to had their kicking been as successbe relegated to non-league soccer when the new League set-up is his first five kicks. As it was the introduced next year. Last week they replaced their manager, bringing back Colin Murphy. It

was too late to help in the FA Cup,

for County went out 1-0 at

Caernarfon Town, a North Wales

part-time team who play in the

Multipart League. County were

not alone in cup suffering, being

1 by non-league club Chorley,

arm spin bowler Phil Carrick. He took the new ball and handed it to starter for New South Wales is the sixth captain in the past eight years. Bairstow was dismissed from the post after refusing least six goals, the margin that to accept an invitation to resign. His time in charge was often beset Luxembourg in the same qualify- by the political rumblings within ing group. But to score three was the club over the role of Boycott. some satisfaction for Scotland who whose contract has not been re-

In Pakistan the touring West Indians clinched the limited over land, like England, now lead their series 3-0 by wining the third of the five matches at Sralkot with four wickets and three balls to spare. Pakistan made only 148 for seven in their 45 overs and West Indies replied with 151 for six. in spite of their captain, Viv Rich-

BRITISH HORSE RACING WAS saddened by the death last week of Javne Thompson, the first woman 7-5. jockey to be killed since women decade ago. Miss Thompson, aged he is one of the greatest attractions coma from head injuries she re- had never before been required to ceived when her horse fell at a play five sets, gave everything he fence in a race at Catterick. Miss had Thompson was top woman jump

jockey two seasons ago. submitted comparatively tamely. they attacked the All Blacks in the match at Nantes with such ferocity ful. Berot scoring with only one of teams were level 3-3, but tries by Charvet and Lorieux sent the French clear.

CRICKET: Matthew Engel reports from Brisbane on the First Test

## Australians hard to dislodge

joined especially by Burnley, now AUSTRALIA fought back valiant- the champion. ly on the fourth day of the first Only one English bowler had not of the First not too long ago. They Test in Brisbane, finishing at 243 been impressive so far in the went out 8-0 to Telford, who have a for 5, largely thanks to an innings, and that was Botham. considerable record of defeating undefeated century from Geoff And now it was Dilley, at the other League opposition in the Cup. Marsh. At 35 runs ahead with five end, who struck, getting Ritchie Among those living to fight again Fourth Division, who were held 1- England winning.

A tense and exciting day's crick-In the English League Arsenal et in the sultry heat saw Australia overtook Liverpool at the top of the advance cautiously. Boon went for ever-changing First Division, the 14, Jones for 18 and it was not placings. The traditional ululation first time in two years that the until Ritchie came in that Marsh London team have been there. found a solid partner. Ritchic went They did so by a remarkable win on to make 45. John Emburey 4-0 at Southampton on Saturday finished the day with 2-78, Eng-England's was literally a bloody and by Liverpool's failure in a live land's best performance on a pitch match and hard fought, although televised match a day later to which offered little help to the In their first innings

In Scotland, Glasgow Celtic took Australia, inching towards the a four points lead in the Premier 257 they needed for safety, finally Division by beating their nearest fell off the tightrope nine runs to be a broken leg after a tackle 45 rivals, Dundee United, 1-0 the short when Graham Dilley had seconds after coming on to the winner coming from Johnston. Bruce Reid caught behind. Team sport occasionally offers moments of the purest sweetness when SQUASH provided world sport's disparate people, men of different Dilley himself was starting to feel most unbelievable story last week motives and ambitions, mon who slightly silly being called Engwound after he and teammate with the defeat of Pakistan's might not even like each other Hodge had collided. Hodge had to Jahangir Khan by New Zealand's much, achieve something worthleave the pitch for nine stitches in Ross Norman, the world number while together. The pleasure is The last time England made a wound, while Hoddle later had two, in the final of the World Open often fleeting; but the memory of anyone follow on was at The Oval at Toulouse. It was Jahangir's first that follow-on moment is likely to in 1985, which was also the last who was here.

morning, England simply got tired of being a bumbling put-upon load thing going ridiculously wrong; of Clark Kents, nipped into a Gatting has out-generalled Border telephone box and came out as completely, and even Australia's

Botham was in the thick of the Geoff Lawson, whose exclusion action, of course. Just after tea, timely moment for Hoddle to show YORKSHIRE CRICKET, already with Australia 59 away from the tralia's first mistake the decision target, only half the side out. to bowl first may have been the for next season, will also have a including the night-watchman second), tried to vault a fence in the previous week been dropped by new captain. David Bairstow, the Zochrer, and memories of morning exuberance after a workhis club. Tottenham Hotspur, after wicket keeper, was replaced at the Botham's marvellous century just out on Sunday and fell, sprained a series of disappointing matches. weekend by the 34-year-old left starting to recede, Mike Gatting an ankle and became a doubtful

wickets in hand they have a and Waugh in successive overs. By light and shade, hitting and were Wolverhampton Wanderers, chance of saving the match, but the time Botham reached his thought. However, it took more former holders but now in the the odds were still slightly on eighth over of the spell, he was than an hour for England to prise palpably tiring, the batsmen were out Zochrer. Then just after lunch, starting to cream him and captain and bowler were getting a little totchy with each other about field

began: why on earth doesn't he At once, everyone had the answer. Chris Matthews was caught at second slip; two balls later Hughes was yorked. And after five cat-and-mouse overs at the final pair the innings was all over.

Dilley's last success gave him five for 56, his first five-for in a es. Only one of his previous 22 games ended in an England win — Headingley '81, and there his contribution was with the bat. land's No 1 strike bowler. Now he

linger indefinitely for every Pom time they won a Test, the last time they scored 400 and the last time One must assume that on Friday they played Australia. Suddenly, the opposing captain finds everylong-term luck is looking doubtful

against England this week and perhaps for the next Test.

And Botham now once again appears to Captain Border like Moby Dick. His century on Saturday was a masterful mixture of Dilley dismissed Marsh for a three-and-a-half hour 56.

Unfortunately for Australia, though, no one else shared his patience, except Emburey, who spent almost three hours twiddling the ball unhittably into the breeze. a performance of high-class bowl ing and endurance on a hot day.

Greg Matthews, however, who has developed into a first-rate fighting cricketer, tried forlarnly to save his team, but it was all in vain and they were all out for 248.

ENGLAND — First innings M. W. Gatting b Hughes T. Botham o Hughes b Waugh ...... 13 J. E. Emburay c Waugh b Hughes ...... P. A. J. DeFreitas c C. Matthews b Waugh ...,...... P. H. Edmonds not out ..... G. R. Dillay c Boon b Waugh . Extrac (b 3, ib 8, nb 3)

Bowling: Reid 31-4-86-1: Hughes 36-7-134-3: C. Matthews 35-10-95-3: Waigh 21-3-76-3: G.

AUSTRALIA - First innings 3. R. Mareh c Richards b Dilley .---- 5 . M. Jones Ibw b Dilley ..... D. M. Ritchie c De Freitas b Edmonds ...... Bowling: DoFreites 16-5-32-2. Dilley 25.4-7-6-68-5: Emburey 34-11-66-0; Edmonds 12-6-12-1:

Botham 12-8-12-2: Gatting 1-0-2-0.

TENNIS: David Irvine sees a classic Benson and Hedges final at Wembley

## Noah comes good in Britain at last

IVAN LENDL cried off with an conceded only 18 points on serve — game that was not unlike the injured hip, Boris Becker had flu that included only one deuce game tiebreak. At 4-4 it was Noah who and John McEnroe lost in the first - but in the 10th Svensson found himself hanging on. Five round. It could have been a recipe suddenly began to lob the menac- times Svensson had break point. for disaster. In the end, no one ing Noah and earned his first five times Noah slammed the door cared. An epic final to the break point. But with the court in his face. £265,000 Benson & Hedges cham- wide open, he netted a backhand. pionship at Wembley on Sunday a match perhaps unrivalled this year for courage, commitment, skill and resilience - ended in a fever pitch of excitement with Yannick Noah, the world's No. 6. just holding off the unseeded Swedish 20-year-old Jonas B.

were granted licenses to ride a long last, to the British public that push the contest into a fourth set. second-set tiebreak against the 22, died a week after going into a in the men's game. Svensson, who able to pull out an ace, produced a Kim Warwick.

> Swedes had denied Noah titles in four previous Grand Prix finals this year. He was determined that it would not happen again and was particularly satisfied that he pulled through when not in his best shape. On every previous appearance in

London, Noah has left emptyhanded. Now he says he is determined not to end his career without playing a great match on Wimbledon's Centre Court.

It was a figmboyant and elegant Noah who set out on what was to prove a 8 hour 48 minute journey Svensson had the greatest difficulty coping with the tall Frenchman's serve. Time after time he was left floundering as aces

By 4-4 in the third set, Noah had

Having survived that crisis. Noah moved on to the tiebreak. A depression set in that deepened

And that, in effect, was that. Noah, admitting he was not sure whether to win points or allow his match point eluded him at 6-5, opponent to make mistakes, found another at 8-7, a third at 9-8 and a himself the beneficiary of three fourth at 10-9. Suddenly the Svensson errors at the end and a favourite was looking flustered. memorable contest concluded with When the fifth went by at 11-10 a the two embracing at the net, For the sixth time the doubles

Svensson to win 6-2, 6-3, 6-7, 4-6, when Svensson, on his fourth set- title went to Peter Fleming and point chance, whacked a forehand McEnroe; though not before they Noah's performance proved, at pass with pinpoint accuracy to had saved a match point in the The deciding set, with Noah still veterans Sherwood Stewart and

#### SOCCER RESULTS

Arsenai 4: Tottenham 1, Coventry 0; Wimbledon 0, West Ham 1. Sunday: Liverpool 1, Shelfield Wednesday 1. Leeding positions: 1, Arsenai (P 15, Pts 28): 2, Uverpool 15, 27; 3, Nottingham

BECOND DIVISION: Barnstey 0, Derby 1; Blackburn 0, Hulf 2; Bradford 4, Huddensteld 3; Crystal Palace 3, Ipswich 3; Grimbby 1, Sunderland 1; Leeds 0, Oldham 2; Millwell 0, Birningham 2; Plymouth 1, West Bromwich 0; Reading 2, Brighton 1; Shelfield United 3, Sloke 1; Shrawsbury 1, Portsmouth 0, Leading positions; 1, Oldham (P 15, Pts 31); 2, Portsmouth 15, 29; 3, Plymouth 16,

27.
FA CUP — FittST ROUND: Aldershol 1, Torquay 0; Bath 3, Aylesbury 2; Bishops Stortlord 1, Colohester 1; Bournamouth 7, Fareham 2; Bristot City 3, VS Rugby 1; Bromsgrove 0, Newport 1; Casmarion 1, Stockport 0; Chaster 1, Rotherbam 1; Chorley 1, Wolverhamploh 1; Dartlord 1, Enfield 1; Exeter 1, Gambridge United 1; Fernborough 0, Swindon 4; Frickley 0, Altrinoham 0; Halifax 1, Bolion 1; Hereford 3, Fulham 3; kettering 0, Casmothern 3; Mirideshmusth 3, Blackmool 0; Notify Gillingham 3; Middlesbrough 3, Blackpool 0; Notis County 1, Carlisis 1; Nuneaton 0, Rociydale 3; Port

TODAY LEAGUE — FIRST DIVISION: Ask o Villa Vale 1, Stafford 0; Preston 5, Bury 1; Runcorn 1. 0, Chaisea 0, Leicester 0, Everion 2; Lutun 4, Boston 1; Sourthorpe 2, Southport 0; Slough 1 Nottingham Forest 2; Manchester City 2, Chariton 1; Bognor 1; Bouthend 4, Halesowen 1; Spennymoor Newcestle 2, Waltord 2; Norwich 0, Manchester 2, Tranmere 3; Terford 3, Burntey 0; Ton Penire 1, United 0; QPR 1, Oxford United 1; Southampton 0, Cardiff 4; Walsatt 2, Chesterfield 0; Woaldstone 1, Swanses 1; Walling 1, Maldstone 1; Whitby 2 Doncaster 2; Wigan 3, Lincolne 1; Working 1 Chelmsford 1; Woodford 0, Orient 1; Wrexham 2 Hanlegool 1; York 3, Crows 1. Sunday: Darington 2, Manaleid 1; Northampton 3, Pelerbrough 0; Aristol Players v Brentford postponed.

> FINE PARE SCOTTISH LEAGUE - PREMIER DIVISION: Cable 1, Dundee United 0; Clydebank 1, Rangers 4, Cundos 1, Motherwell 1; Hamilton 1 Fekirk 2; Hearts 2, Aberdeen: 1; St Mirren 3, Hibernian 1. Leeding positions: 1, Celtic (P 17, Pts 19); 2, Dundes United 18, 25; 3, Hearts 18, 24.
> FIRST DIVISION: Dumbarton 1, Clyde 1; Dunfermine 2, Queen of the South 2; Foriar S, Airdrie 1; Klimamock O, Brachin 1; Montrosa O, Monton 3; Partick 3, East Fife 3. Leading poettions: 1, Dunfermine 20,27; 2, Dumbarion 20, 26; 3, East

> Alica 2, Arbroath 3; Berwick 2, Blanhousemuir 3; East Stirling 1, Stirling 1; Mesdowbank 1, St Johnstone 1; Queen's Park 1, Ayr 1; Flath 2, Stranger 1. Leading positions: 1, Raith 15, 23; 2, Alice 15, 22; 3, Albion 15, 20.